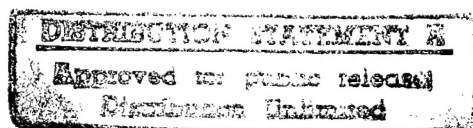


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International Affairs

Russian's Visit Brings Questions on Relations

Remarks in Moscow

92AS1459A Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Aug 92
p 9

[Article by Vladimir Radyuhin]

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 2—The Russian Parliament Speaker, Mr. Ruslan Khazbulatov, believes that relations with India remain a top priority for Russian foreign policy. "We attach enormous importance to strengthening ties with India," said the Chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet who begins an eight-day official visit to India on Monday.

The 50-year-old Speaker, who succeeded Mr. Boris Yeltsin in the post last year when the latter was elected President, is convinced that Russia, as the successor to the Soviet Union, has no reason to question signal achievements in Indo-Soviet relations but should strive to deepen and expand bilateral cooperation.

Talking to Indian journalists in Moscow on the eve of his departure for India, Mr. Khazbulatov said it would be "shortsighted" for Russia to treat India as a second-rate nation. Responding to a complaint by an Indian Correspondent that the Russian Foreign Ministry was neglecting India, Mr. Khazbulatov stressed that it would be "a mistake for Russian diplomacy to regard India as an unpromising partner." "I do not share this view," he said. "India is a great and dynamically developing Asian nation and as an economist, I foresee that it may well become a leading world economic power of the 21st Century. Thank god we have had very good relations with India for nearly half a century and we must by no means relegate them to the past."

Mr. Khazbulatov emphasised the importance of his visit to India as "the first top level Russian Parliamentary mission." He qualified the visit as "a very serious political step aimed at intensifying all-round ties with India." He said he was taking to India proposals designed to add momentum to Russian-Indian parliamentary contacts. Mr. Khazbulatov is the highest Russian official to come to India since the breakup of the Soviet Union. Mr. Yeltsin is to visit India later this year.

Declining trade

Referring to declining trade between the two countries, Mr. Khazbulatov hoped that his visit would "help lend greater dynamism to our trade and economic relations." Mr. Khazbulatov was confident the Russian Parliament was in a position to impress on the Government in Moscow the need for restoring and deepening economic links with India. He said the federal authorities in Moscow were encouraging the autonomous regions to establish direct links with other countries and mentioned

in this context the inclusion in the delegation of two Parliament Speakers from Buryatia and Bashikiria.

Receiving India's Ambassador to Moscow, Mr. Alfred Silvester Gonsalves, earlier, Mr. Khazbulatov admitted that Russia's preoccupation with domestic problems had created the impression of a certain "vacuum" in relations with India after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. He however assured the Ambassador that there was no question of a "re-orientation" of the Russian Foreign policy away from India.

Mr. Khazbulatov believes that Russia as a multi-national state building a market economy can benefit a lot from India's experience of promoting medium and small businesses and of managing relations between the Centre and the States. "Despite its official status as a federative state Russia in the past was a unitary country and it is only today that we are building a true federation. That is why we find India's experience, both positive and negative, very instructive."

Rocket deal

Asked to comment on a recent statement by Russia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrey Kozyrev, that Russia should be even more interested than the United States in cancelling the rocket deal with India, Mr. Khazbulatov admitted there could be differences in the Russian leadership on the issue. "I can only regret if that is so indeed." At the same time he came out in support of the deal. "If we have signed a contract we should carry it out. Russia should pursue an independent policy in such matters and should not allow the United States to bring pressure on it."

"Any country's policy can only command respect if it is consistent and based on the national interests. But we have our interests, just like India does. Why should we subordinate our interests to those of a third nation."

"Charges far-fetched"

Mr. Khazbulatov said he was disgusted by accusations of collaboration with the KGB made in the Russian press against some leading political figures in other countries, including the late Rajiv Gandhi. "I do not know the facts, but I think these charges are far-fetched. I regret our press should have become involved in this campaign."

Apart from the Parliament Speakers from Buryatia, Mr. Leonid Potapov, and Bashikiria, Mr. Murtaz Rakhimov, the delegation includes the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Boris Pastukhov and Chairmen of the parliamentary committees for agrarian affairs and local self-government. The delegation is scheduled to meet the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the Speaker.

Russian Priority Questioned

92AS1459B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 11 Aug 92
p 11

[Article by Vladimir Radyuhin]

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 10—Assurances to Indian leaders by the Russian Parliament Speaker, Mr. Ruslan Khazbulatov that Moscow still attaches top priority to relations with New Delhi contrast with a lack of interest towards the visit on the part of the Russian media. He is currently in India.

With the exception of an occasional mention on TV news programmes and some TASS reports carried for the most of the time in the Parliament paper, *ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA*, the Russian press has ignored the Speaker's trip.

While this indifference may have something to do with the grudge the Russian media bears against Mr. Khazbulatov for attempting to hedge in their newly won freedom, there are other signs that the Speaker's claim is over optimistic.

Inconsistency

If there has been one distinct feature of Russia's policy towards India since the breakup of the Soviet Union, it is inconsistency. When the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, planned to visit India as early as March or April, he seemed to be prepared to carry on the tradition of special relationship with India that Russia inherited from the Soviet Union. Before long, however, priorities changed, and the India visit was shifted towards the end of the year, until after Mr. Yeltsin toured the West, Japan, South Korea and China.

The State Secretary, Mr. Gennady Burbulis, who went to India last April clearly sought to emphasise a break with the past, offering New Delhi to build bilateral relations on a new, if somewhat ambiguous, basis of "inspired pragmatism."

Three months later, the Russian Parliament Speaker has again changed the tune, stressing continuity in Russia's ties with India, paying tribute to "signal achievements in Soviet-Indian relations" and denying there is any need to revise them.

These obviously divergent views on Russian-Indian ties could indicate a clash of concepts in the Russian leadership had it not been for the total indifference to the problem displayed by the Russian Foreign Ministry. The most memorable remark about India made by the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrey Kozyrev, has been that Russia should be more interested in cancelling the rocket deal with India than the United States is, since it may upset the strategic stability in the region. He has travelled as far as South Africa, but did not find time as much as to receive the Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, when he came to Moscow earlier this year.

As for Mr. Yeltsin himself, he has not had an occasion, or wish, to formulate his vision of Russian-Indian relations. That is if he has any. But if one is to believe Mr. Kozyrev when he says that his Ministry is only an instrument for implementing the President's foreign policy, Mr. Yeltsin's silence should be taken for what it appears to be—indifference.

But probably the most accurate indication of the place India occupies in Russian foreign policy priorities is the catastrophic state of bilateral trade. While it is true that Russia's trade with all countries has declined, with India it has just collapsed. Russian exports this year have been nil, but for an oil tanker sent to India at the time of Mr. Burbulis's visit as a pathetic symbol of "inspired pragmatism."

Mr. Khazbulatov's determination to construct Russian-Indian relations on the firm foundation of Soviet-Indian friendship can only be welcomed, but it remains to be seen if it can be translated into reality. The Speaker is certainly not one of Mr. Yeltsin's confidants, does not have his ear and has not come to India as his envoy. But Mr. Khazbulatov has far more serious intentions in visiting India than Mr. Burbulis did. While the State Secretary's trip was little more than a consolation to India for the postponement of Mr. Yeltsin's visit, the Speaker's visit is designed to strengthen the Russian Parliament's positions in its confrontation with the Government. Being a weak point in Russia's foreign policy, India can provide Mr. Khazbulatov with a lot of gun powder to pound the executive. This may have some spinoff for India, too.

Khazbulatov Repeats Promise

UNI reports from Bombay:

The Speaker of the Russian Parliament, Mr. Ruslan Khazbulatov, has said that Russia would fulfil all its obligations towards India's space programme, despite "pressures" from the United States and from "some bureaucrats" within the Russian Republic. He was speaking to press persons at a reception accorded to him by the All India Manufacturers Organisation (AIMO) in Bombay on Sunday. Mr. Khazbulatov is heading a Russian Parliamentary delegation on an eight-day visit to India. The team is on the way back home.

Mr. Khazbulatov said Russia should fulfil its obligations in spite of the pressures from what he described as the "third side."

Mr. Khazbulatov stressed the need for good relations between India and the Russian Republic. "The old relations should not only be preserved, but developed further on a new basis of mutual interest," he said.

Mr. Konstantin S. Zlobin, press secretary to Mr. Khazbulatov, said later that Russia would continue to help India in its rocket technology and there was no deviation in its attitude.

Welcoming the Russian leader, the AIMO president, Mr. Vijay Kalantri said the friendly relations built up between the two countries since the Nehru days would continue and be strengthened further.

Current Problems in Relations With Russia Noted
92AS1488A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
5 Aug 92 p 8

[Article by Hari Vasudevan]

[Text] In the appointment of Mr. Ronen Sen as India's ambassador to Moscow, South Block has shown a long overdue determination to set right affairs at the legation on Ulitsa Obukha. New Delhi is aware that Mr. Boris Yeltsin's government is here to stay for a while, that India needs something by way of a new Russia policy.

Russia's administration is in a shambles, the Soviet is short on democratic credentials, public complaints are many, the economy is in a mess and the new nation lacks credibility. But with the odd shove from the United States the current regime survives. It is impossible to ignore the events in what remain the most important influence on the Commonwealth of Independent States, a vast reservoir of natural resources and a major power.

Indian businessmen have pointed to the need for decisive action by Indian officials in building good relations. There was, for example, a poor follow-up to the visit of the state secretary, Mr. Gennady Burbulis. The moribund core of the Indian mission, centred around the former ambassador, stymied the best efforts of the embassy's cultural and economic sections to develop links in the new regime. Mr. Sen, an old Russian hand with a reputation for dynamism, is expected to cut through all this. More hangs on his actions than has been the case with previous appointments.

Mr. Sen has access to only limited information on Russian affairs. The sudden availability of vast amounts of data has left Indian officials in a daze. The embassy has no informants in the numerous public agencies that have come up and lacks the ability to keep up with the commercial and political material in circulation. The desk at the Ministry of External Affairs [MEA] cannot supplement the embassy's stock of biographical information about the Russian deputies or the manager-entrepreneurs of the day. MEA officers are out of date and their contacts in Delhi have few allies in Russia's new political establishment.

Most of India's old friends in Moscow have no position in the new policy making apparatus. When he took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Andrey Kozyrev rid the establishment of a number of deputy ministers and appointed his own team: Andrey Kolosovski, Fedor Shelov-Kovedyev, Boris Kolokolov, Georgiy-Kunadze and Georgiy Mamedov.

Some had experience with Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, but most of the new appointees had come from the

Russian Ministry of External Affairs, as opposed to the Soviet ministry. Some like Mr. Kozyrev himself, quit the Soviet ministry for personal or professional reasons or came from independent think-tanks. They are not committed to the India policy of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev or his predecessors. Mr. Kozyrev's ideological purge of the departments at Smolenskaya Ploshchad further weakened the position of those familiar with the nuances of Indo-Soviet friendship.

Officials sympathetic to Mr. Gorbachev's policy of close relations with India, such as Mr. Alexander Lukin, have been sent away from Moscow. Their attempt to sway the course of policy through personal influence or writings in the press are of limited value. They can hardly help Indian officials orient themselves in changed circumstances. Indian foreign service officers have failed to cultivate potential new allies like Mr. Galina Starovoytova. He is an advisor to Mr. Yeltsin and less obsessed with the United States than Mr. Kozyrev.

Mr. Sen cannot do without India's old friends and associates in Moscow—those once connected with the Communist Party, the friendship organisations, the Oriental Institute, old state trading organisations and so on. Though excluded from ministerial and parliamentary commissions, many of them are prominent in public life, professional organisations, local government and the press. Since Russian politics is in an uncertain state, there is doubt about who represents the country's interests. Old India hands may well acquire political importance in the near future.

Still, clear lines of communication with Mr. Kozyrev are essential. He holds no brief against India, although Mr. Alfred Gonsalvez's statements during and after the August 1991 coup angered Mr. Kozyrev's fellow Democrats. Mr. Kozyrev has ignored South Asian affairs in view of his enormous commitments elsewhere. These include relations with immediate CIS neighbours, the problem of Russian minorities outside Russia, Afghanistan, and discussions with the West over nuclear weapons and aid.

In the circumstances, Indo-Russian affairs have been of secondary concern to the Russian foreign ministry. Insofar as Russian officials express opinions—such as supporting Kashmiri self-determination—it is to reinforce democratic postures rather than an indication of cardinal principles of foreign policy.

To treat with Mr. Kozyrev requires attention and respect for the Washington-Moscow axis he and Mr. Yeltsin have created. In their construction of Russia's foreign policy the United States is their primary ally in international affairs. The close relations between the two countries has been amply demonstrated over the summer. Not only was Mr. Yeltsin given a rousing welcome during his visit to the United States, but President George Bush gave extraordinary support to Russia's dealings with the International Monetary Fund and G-7 despite the reservations of other Western nations.

Mr. James Baker voiced the position of the United States administration concerning Russia and the Yeltsin government at an event in Boston organised by the World Affairs Council in late June. His fulsome support for both was unqualified. Restating the importance of continuing with the principles of the Freedom Support Act passed by Congress in April, a law that expressed US plans to support democracy and the market economy in eastern Europe and the CIS, Mr. Baker warned of a possible recurrence of an arms race with Russia if the reforms failed and the Yeltsin government collapses. He emphasised that Mr. Yeltsin was asking for "partnership," not charity. Partnership to build institutions and conventions which would eventually be beneficial both to Russians and Americans.

Senior US state department officials have given lectures in a similar vein at other occasions. To assist it with the task of improving relations with Russia the government has drawn members of the public into the Citizens' Democracy Corps. This group has been a clearing house for voluntary programmes and business ventures in the Soviet Union and the CIS since 1988. With such encouragement, US entrepreneurs have begun operations in Russia. Most recently, after Mr. Yeltsin's visit, the Bush administration established special insurance for such businesses.

Democrats have expressed their reservations concerning the nature of the US commitment to Russia. Their reservations have been duly noted in the Russian press. But to date these remain lone voices and there is considerable argument between president and Congress over support of Russia.

South Block will instruct Mr. Sen to convince Mr. Kozyrev that New Delhi's position on a number of international economic and political issues is in accord with the principles of the US-Russian entente. The current economic reforms are major evidence of this. Conservative think-tanks in the United States, like the Heritage Foundation, support such a reading of India's international postures. This will not be lost on Mr. Kozyrev.

The sympathy accorded to India's stand on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty [NPT] in such circles and the hard thinking in the state department about possible rephrasing of the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] to take India's views into account are not unknown to Mr. Kozyrev. Mr. Sen will discover the recent Indo-US entente and the cooling of US relations with Pakistan will help him with his brief in Moscow.

It is Mr. Sen's emphasis on India's refusal to have its international course dictated that Mr. Kozyrev will find difficult to accept. Mr. Kozyrev's views on Indo-Russian relations lack substance. Unless he draws in old professionals such as Messrs. Anatoly Adamishin, Aleksey Obukhov and Victor Komplektov into his ministerial team, he will have difficulty in fully understanding Mr. Sen. Clientism comes naturally to Mr. Kozyrev even if it

does not come easily to the president and other members of the entourage. Mr. Sen will find the going with him difficult.

Of course Mr. Sen will not change his tune. He is aware that India's international assertion of its independence is not for negotiation. It is because India must be independent that she must rebuild her relations with Russia. The special trade and currency relationship with Russia—overturned after the Burbulis Protocol—is a potential source of stability in the difficult times ahead. Just as the relationship may be crucial to Russia when that country runs into a crisis. Mr. Yeltsin understood this at the time of the controversy over the missile deal in May. Hence his refusal to give way over the issue in Washington in June. Mr. Kozyrev regrettably is not as wide awake.

Ironically, the solution to this problem lies in Washington. US officials do not wish to be the only ones to shoulder the burden of helping Russia. It was clear in Munich that the US's European allies were not keen on giving Mr. Yeltsin a blank cheque. It is evident to Russia-watchers in the United States that the greatest source of Russia's stability in the circumstances may be the country's special relationship with India, Mexico and so on. Trade with Russian in turn may be the best hope for the successful development of market-oriented reform in these nations.

In consequent discussions with Mr. Kozyrev, Mr. Baker will probably stress the importance to Russia of its special relationships. This will surprise Mr. Kozyrev just as Mr. Bush's encouragement to Mr. Yeltsin to defy the IMF surprised the prime minister, Mr. Igor Gaidar, in July. It will also enable Mr. Sen to fulfil his brief.

The course of events will not be astonishing. Most avenues to Moscow pass through Washington. It is within the boundaries of the District of Columbia's beltway that most problems concerning Russia will be resolved.

Papers Report on Military Relations With PRC

Analyst on Pawar Beijing Visit

92AS1455A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 4 Aug 92
p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Analyst on Pawar Beijing Visit"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 3—The Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, has returned from his recent trip to China with the strong impression that the Chinese leadership wants peace and tranquillity along the line of actual control on the border with India, so that reduction in force levels is possible.

This was the first ever visit of an Indian Defence Minister to China—the invitation for which was extended by the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Li Peng, during his stay here in December last year. Mr. Pawar

spent nearly two and a half hours with his Chinese counterpart and some 70 minutes with Mr. Li Peng. He also met the three service chiefs of that country.

According to Indian delegation as well as diplomatic sources, the boundary issue figured prominently in Mr. Sharad Pawar's talks—not with a view to attempting a solution of the problem (which it was realised would take a very long time), but to putting on a firmer basis the mechanisms to guard against tension. The Chinese side, it appears, had in mind a two-stage process—one, proceeding from the recognition of the reality on the border, finalisation of specific steps for maintaining peace and, two, opening of the Tibet border (for trade). The line of actual control is yet to be demarcated but this, in the Chinese view, need not come in the way of giving a concrete shape to measures for guarding against tension, and to ending the situation of eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation of the troops of the two sides. The areas where there was no confusion about the actual control could be taken up first, according to this line of thinking.

The concrete measures are expected to be ready by the time the Joint Working Group holds its next meeting—in Beijing in December.

Thrust of Chinese policies

These points fitted in with the overall impression of contemporary China, in the political, economic and military contexts. China, it was pointed out, had cut down the strength of its armed forces by one million and would like to keep up this process with a view to reducing the defence expenditure. It appeared keen on 1) maintenance of internal security, 2) peace on all borders, including the one with India, and 3) aggressive pursuit of economic reforms. As a matter of fact, the thrust of the Chinese policies appeared to be build economic rather than military strength. They would like to follow the model presented by Japan, their next-door neighbour. This was borne out by the latest statistics—in the last six months. China was able to attract foreign investment to the tune of \$14 billions while India could manage, after the new economic package, some \$900 millions. The growth rate in China has exceeded the target—9 percent against 6 percent (in Shanghai, it was as high as 22 percent).

Whatever be the tangible gains of the Defence Minister's visit, the significance of intangible aspects, like the direct contact between the defence establishment of the two countries, could not be minimised.

Confidence-Building Measures Urged

92AS1455B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 6 Aug 92
p 9

[Article by C. Raja Mohan]

[Text] The recent visit to China by the Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, has laid the foundation for the

expansion of bilateral military interaction and institutionalisation of confidence-building measures between the two Asian giants. The tentative groping towards a better relationship since the late 1980s between New Delhi and Beijing is now acquiring some infectious enthusiasm on both sides.

Mr. Pawar's visit itself had come on top of some recent preliminary military interaction between India and China. A team from the Indian National Defence College had visited China in 1990 and it was followed by a delegation from the Chinese National Defence University to India. Mr. Pawar's visit has now helped firm up a more sustained military exchange between the two countries.

The interaction between the Indian NDC [National Defense College] and the Chinese NDU [National Defense University] could now become a routine feature, and the possibility of each side sending students to the highest defence colleges of the other could eventually be considered. Regular exchange of visits by senior military officials is also considered a strong possibility. A naval dimension could easily be added to this emerging military interaction between India and China.

It is natural that the question of border settlement should figure in the Defence Minister's talks with his interlocutors in China. But the bilateral emphasis right now is on making the Sino-Indian border free from military tensions, while leaving the actual settlement to a later date. It is in this context that military confidence-building measures on the border have acquired the highest priority. Though the specific CBMs [confidence-building measures] are to be taken up for discussion at the next meeting of the Joint Working Group, at the Foreign Secretary level, Mr. Pawar's visit has helped give the idea the necessary political thrust.

Both sides are eager to put in place a range of measures to ensure that there is greater military transparency, predictability and stability, and to ease the current stand-off on the Sino-Indian border. Some measures are already in place. For example over the last year and a half, the military sector commanders on both sides have been meeting every six months to discuss specific problems that arise on the border.

But these meetings have been of limited value, given the lack of direct communication facilities across the border between the sector commanders. Strengthening communication facilities at the operational level must be a major priority in the process of military confidence-building between the two militaries. This must include 'hot-line' facilities at both sectoral and headquarters level. India and Pakistan already have a hot line facility at the level of Director General of Military Operations. A similar arrangement between India and China, incorporating modern communication facilities, is long overdue.

Another set of confidence-building measures that India and China could consider relates to information-exchange. Structured and frequent exchange of information by the two sides on military doctrine, major unit and command location and organisation, and force levels on the border could facilitate greater understanding of each other's military postures and reduce the danger of misreading the intentions of the other side. The information exchange could also include notification of military exercises, and missile test launches. The information and communication CBMs could all be eventually woven into risk reduction centres on both sides.

Observation and inspection is another key element of military confidence-building. India and China could agree to send observers to major military exercises on the other side. Operational constraints on the two militaries is another possibility that India and China could consider in their dialogue on confidence-building. Such measures could include constraints on forward-basing of offensive weapons and ceilings on military movement and manpower.

New Delhi and Beijing have a substantive menu of military confidence-building measures drawn from the European experience. But both the countries are new to the game of CBMs, despite the fact that China and Russia have instituted some CBMs on their border and discussions of a desultory nature had taken place between India and Pakistan on CBMs.

The Indian Foreign Ministry, the Defence Ministry and the three Services need to put their heads together and arrive at a well-defined and comprehensive approach to the engagement of China on military confidence-building. There is no place for excessive euphoria or needless suspicion. A hard-headed and balanced approach to CBMs would enhance the security of both India and China. The air has been cleared with regular political exchanges at the highest level and the increasing interaction between the two militaries.

The openness of the two militaries towards each other could itself be seen as a major measure of confidence-building. In the last one-year, New Delhi has begun to shed its diffidence over letting the armed forces interact with others. China had dropped those fears in the 1980s as part of a general engagement of the world.

In expanding their military interaction, India and China could consider naval interaction as well. Beijing could not but be nervous about the recent Indian naval exercises with the American, British, French and Australian navies. New Delhi is wary of the Chinese naval intentions in the Indian Ocean. In the context of the disappearance of the Soviet Union and the declining American forward military presence in Asia, it is obvious that both the Indian and Chinese navies would have a key role in the maintenance of the balance of power in Asia. And the time for interaction between the two navies may have come. Given the record of suspicion and mistrust,

the naval interaction could only be at an elementary level. It could begin with an agreement to permit port calls by each navy in the other country.

German Chancellor Kohl To Visit in Oct

92AS1463A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
2 Aug 92 p 4

[Text] Bonn, Aug. 1 (PTI)—The German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Kohl, will pay a two-day "official visit" to New Delhi from October 8, according to Mr. Mani Shankar Dixit [name as published], the visiting Indian foreign secretary, here today.

During his visit, the German leader will be conferred with the international Nehru Award. He will also hold bilateral talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, and meet the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, and other Indian leaders.

Mr. Dixit arrived here yesterday after holding Indo-French talks in Paris. He said the main purpose of his visit here was to discuss the forthcoming visit of the Chancellor to India and to hold discussions with the German foreign ministry on mutual issues.

Mr. Dixit met the senior German official, Mr. Peter Hartmann, and discussed with him details of Mr. Kohl's programme.

Paper Reports on Faleiro Visit to Syria

Ties Need Mending

92AS1512A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 22 Aug 92
p 6

[Article by F.J. Khergamvala: "Syria Wants NAM To Resist Threats"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Amman, Aug. 23. Barely a week before the Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta, Syria has volunteered to play a positive role in redefining the NAM [Non-aligned Movement] agenda.

At the instance of the Syrian authorities, India's Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro had to delay his journey to Jordan so that the President, Mr. Hafiz al-Asad could receive him.

In the event Mr. Asad specifically told Mr. Faleiro that the NAM must be more effective in contributing to the new world order.

"He dwelt at length on the inequitable nature of present structures and said the Third World could not contribute or participate in any effective way in decision making," said an Indian spokesman, quoting the Syrian President.

All through the visit, the Syrian side orchestrated at various levels of the leadership the importance of the NAM.

The Syrian Vice-President, Mr. Abd-al-Khaddam, who is the country's second most powerful figure and is expected to lead Syria's team to Jakarta told Mr. Faleiro that the NAM should review and take a stand against the threats to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Third World countries.

It was in this connection that Mr. Khaddam told Mr. Faleiro that Syria is "friendly with both India and Pakistan but regrets that they are unable to resolve the Kashmir problem bilaterally and if they fail it will only allow external forces to exploit the situation.

Reference omitted: It is interesting that while Mr. Faleiro was briefing Indian reporters on his talks with the Syrian Vice-President he omitted the reference to "external forces" exploiting the situation presumably because it was implicitly to the United States.

Syrian officials later said privately that this was said by the Vice-President, whereupon Indian officials agreed. They also said this was the first time that any West Asian leader has made such a reference to "external forces" in a discussion on Kashmir.

Syria's views on the dangers of outside interference in Kashmir fit in with its desire to see the NAM activated to resist intrusions into bilateral or internal matters.

Earlier, Mr. Faleiro had heard from the Syrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Faruq al-Shar a note of regret that attempts were being made to "internationalise the Kashmir problem."

No tilt seen: Indian officials do not infer from Syrian remarks any tilt towards the Indian expositions on Kashmir. The caution about internationalising the issue needs to be interpreted within the overall context of the fires raging all over. For instance, Syrian officials made the point that as in the rump state of Yugoslavia, the inability of its components to resolve the issue among themselves had led to international (meaning Western) intervention thus complicating the situation further.

Democratisation of U.N: Mr. Khaddam also called for democratisation of the U.N., abolition of veto powers and greater Security Council representation of Asian powers—"Asia, with half of mankind has only one permanent member, whereas a smaller Europe has three," said Mr. Khaddam. The latter also suggested that the NAM review the U.N. charter.

Seeking refuge: There is another message that comes out from the attitude of Syria and other Arab members outside the Gulf region (the PLO leader, Mr. Yasir Arafat has also called for the NAM committee on Palestine to be convened). It appears that when they feel the heat of Western pressure, some powers which had recently not been too active at the NAM, are inclined to seek refuge and support from this body. Syria feels externally concerned about Western attempts to outflank regional bodies and the U.N. Security Council to set out their own military agenda on Iraq.

At all levels in Syria, from its highest officials, to the media to the street, the feeling on what is happening in the Gulf is strong. Indian officials do see eye to eye with Damascus on some issues but emphasise that they did not comment officially on Syrian suggestions about the abolition of the veto at the Security Council or expanding its membership.

Talks With al-Asad

92AS1512B Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Aug 92
p 9

[Article by F.J. Khergamvala: "Mission To Mend Ties With Syria"]

[Text] Damascus, Aug 21. Currently Indo-Syrian relations are like a tennis racquet "sweet spot" strings that are fraying. The minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, is here to push a case to put a new strings and revive the once strong equation.

Diplomats and Syrian journalists familiar with India agree that those relations which flourished once the twin values of non-alignment and an almost identical attitude towards the Cold War, need a fresh infusion of something that could survive a transient world. "We have so many agreements, on tourism, trade, information, science and technology, but nothing much by way of implementation from both sides," Mr. Faleiro told Ahmed Sawan, political editor of the Government-owned TISHREEN paper, in an interview on Thursday. He suggested that the reconstruction be founded on economic content.

During a 45-minute session with the Syrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Faruq al-Shar, he dwelt on the same theme.

Representatives of five Indian firms, all from the private sector, are here to have the Minister help them advance some competitive bids they have submitted. Mr. J.L. Thakkar, Managing Director of Dharamsi Morarji Chemical Co. has submitted a bid for a turnkey project worth \$400 million. Officials of M.N. Dastur and Co. are on a short list of a bidder as consultants to a \$700 million Saudi-funded seven lakh tonne a year steel plant.

Businessmen included in meeting: Moreover, the embassy here has included the senior businessmen in the joint meetings with Syrian officials, on economic matters. Asked if he was willing to establish such a system, Mr. Faleiro replied, "Yes, definitely, but only where it is helpful, especially in cases such as those here when the countries have been serious enough to submit competitive bids and my pleas on their behalf will supplement a serious effort."

Welcomed: Mr. Supriya Das Gupta, Joint-Managing Director of M.N. Dastur and Co., said he welcomed this approach, rather than merely asking businessmen to be present during a ministerial visit. Yet, the map of progress of Indo-Syrian ties is misty. At present it is clear

that it is the quality and alertness of the embassy and the response of the private sector that is showing promise rather than any South Bloc policy to institutionalise regular business and political contacts.

Dr. Hani Habib, who is now the Syrian Foreign Ministry's Director for Economic Cooperation, said: "We want now and have for some time wanted to diversify from our concentration on Europe and Japan, towards India but Indian companies did not seem interested in making the effort." That view appears half justified. It is true that in some business circles not operating in the Arab world, Syria is viewed as a fighter cock at war with Israel. Syrians have not exactly done their best to promote their country in India, a job that Indian diplomats have rather successfully begun to do with Indian business houses recently.

Syrian officials complain that two of their secretary rank officials who went to India last May had talks with a joint-secretary in the Commerce Ministry. Neither Mr. P. Chidambaram found time to receive them nor was the Ministry of External Affairs interested in treating their visit seriously. On their return to Damascus both were promoted to ministerial rank and are in jobs approving Indian project applications.

Completely independent of a growing bilateral Indo-Israeli relationship, a similar Indo-Arab equation founded on more business and people-to-people exchanges will go some distance in allaying fears voiced here at various levels that India may forget old friends in order to make new ones.

Syria Criticises Pak

PTI reports from Bahrain:

Syria has criticised Pakistan for internationalising the Kashmir issue terming it as "unfortunate."

"We are of the view that both India and Pakistan should resolve the issue through peaceful means and dialogues," Mr. Faruq al-Shar told Mr. Eduardo Faleiro at the official level talks last night.

Indian official sources quoted Mr. al-Shar as saying it was an "unfortunate attempt" on the part of Pakistan to internationalise the Kashmir problem.

Mr. Faleiro told Mr. al-Shar that Pakistani indulgence and its support to terrorists activities in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab were the main obstacles in the normalisation of ties between the two countries

Faleiro Mideast Visit Seen as 'Timely'

92AS1513A Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Aug 92
p 7

[Article by F.J. Khargamvala: "India Still Seen as Non-aligned Leader"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Bahrain, Aug. 26. One of the advantages derived by India's Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, after a five-day tour of Syria and Jordan, was an assessment of how India is viewed in these countries, especially after it established formal ties with Israel. The primary impression he carries back is that these countries still see India as the one that should lead the nonaligned.

Mr. Faleiro's visit was timely and opportune, according to Indian officials. The region is both tense and in a state of uncertainty about the future, not least because some developments are being heavily influenced by the U.S. presidential campaign. The peace talks in Washington and the crisis over Western designs in Iraq have the distinct stamp of the Republican Party campaign calculations. Both Syria and Jordan felt that India can and should actively involve itself in a crusade for "a just and democratic order," as a senior Jordanian official said.

A Contradiction: The single most important fact to emerge from these Indo-Arab discussions at every level is that India's personality is reflected as a nonaligned leader, as distinct from the leadership of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM]. But there may be difficulties in pursuing India's economic interests while allowing this NAM personality to flower by leading a crusade against the present order. This contradiction has always been there but in today's world they stand out more conspicuously. Those who are politically with India's place and responsibility in the NAM have little trade and economic interaction, with New Delhi. Those who do have such interaction, have little time for the NAM.

Agreeing that India too had spoken about many of the things that Syria and Jordan spelt out, Mr. Faleiro said, "But we will have to juggle several balls in the air." Both countries made similar presentations regarding the unjust and undemocratic world order, with the former being specific and perhaps ambitious about what changes are required, especially at the U.N. Security Council. The fact that India was assured of their support to do something about it shows that they do take the views expressed by India seriously. It is not that they want India to mobilise a confrontation club against the West, but they see New Delhi as credible enough to echo Third World political concerns.

Heart of Arabism: Syria, Jordan and Iraq, apart from Egypt are recognised as the "beating heart" of Arabism, unlike the Gulf nations. The present Egyptian Government and some in the Gulf wanted the NAM folded up and merged with the Group of 77. Iran would strongly favour a crusade.

It was Syria's president, Mr. Hafiz al-Asad, who argued that unlike the Warsaw Pact and the NATO, the NAM was never a military bloc and hence the end of the cold war did not eliminate its importance but necessitated a modification of the agenda. There is no other forum to voice the Third World's allround concerns, added Mr. Asad.

Emphasis on NAM's new suggested political role overshadowed any doubts due to the Indo-Israeli relationship, which too incidentally can flourish independently if India can keep its nonaligned credibility. In the Gulf it was only to be expected that the India-Israel relationship would not cause any doubts about India's intentions. The frontline governments may have had greater reason for doubt, but there seems a measure of trust in India, which Mr. Faleiro duly reinforced with strong statements to the right audience.

He stressed that India favoured the vacation of occupied Arab land (omitting the term "all Arab land"), a peace process based on resolutions 242 and 338 (territories for peace) and a homeland for the Palestinians. He also emphasised that any solution should protect and safeguard the legitimate interests of all parties.

According to informed sources, Mr. Hafiz al-Asad had remarked that certain countries wished to create differences between India and the Arabs and India and Syria but given the will on both sides there was no reason why they should succeed.

Arab Use of Juveniles as Jockeys Condemned

92AS1433A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 2 Aug 92 p 4

[Editorial: "A Stigma on the Country"]

[Text] Smuggling Indian children for camel races to Arab countries is such a deplorable and inhuman act that it should be strongly condemned. Old and rich Arabs come to southern India and take minor daughters of poor parents deluding them about marriage. They claim to marry them and produce supporting documents. Recently two minor girls were taken from the clutches of some Arab traders. The story that these crying girls told would make any person feel wretched for their situation. What don't poverty and financial difficulties force a man to do? There are rumors that smuggled Indian children are used in the dangerous camel races in Arab nations and some of these children die. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has interfered in this issue; however, this is not enough. Mr. Shivraj Mehta, Lok Sabha speaker, gave permission to the Lok Sabha members to submit this issue for discussion. We are friendly with the Arab nations, however, this does not mean that they can buy children here for a few cents and use them for their entertainment. The truth is that this is a major stigma on our country.

Faleiro Reports on Visit to Iran

92AS1460A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 10 Aug 92 p 6

[Text] Bombay, August 9—India and Iran are planning to strengthen their economic and cultural relationship.

In an informal talk with mediapersons prior to his departure for Tehran on Friday, the Union minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, said that

"economic and cultural exchanges between both the countries were being considered prior to a meeting of the joint commission in New Delhi in November."

Mr. Faleiro is being accompanied by the joint secretary in the United Nations desk at the external affairs ministry, Mr. P. Menon.

The minister said the present balance of trade position between India and Iran was not to the advantage of this country on account of the large import of oil. "Efforts were now under way to increase our exports," he said.

Mr. Faleiro said India would also try for greater involvement with Iran in the various projects, and the basic areas of cooperation would include power, railways and machine tools.

He said the main purpose of his visit to Tehran was to have talks with the Iranian foreign minister on the leadership of Iran at the meeting of nonaligned countries scheduled for the first week of September in Jakarta.

The forthcoming Jakarta meeting would be preceded by different sessions at various levels.

On India according diplomatic relationship with Israel, he said, that it would undoubtedly go a long way in expediting the West Asian peace process. "We can now talk to all the parties," he said. While recognising Israel, he said, India would still extend its wholehearted support to the Palestinian cause.

He said the appointment of ambassadors in both the countries—India and Israel—would take place in due course with an Indian ambassador in Israel and an Israeli ambassador in India.

About South Africa, he quoted a decision taken at a meeting of Commonwealth countries which had stipulated that "people-to-people restrictions" should be removed between South Africa and other countries.

In this connection, he said, Air-India's plans to operate flights to South Africa came well within the permission of the Commonwealth.

However, on account of the troubled situation in South Africa marked by violence currently, he doubted whether Air-India would be able to adhere to its plan of starting its South African operations from October.

Talking about the Nonaligned Movement, he said, member countries viewed it very significantly in view of the changed world scenario. "Nonalignment is not a neutralist policy nor a policy of equidistance. Its policies have not been solely in interposing between conflicting powers," Mr. Faleiro said.

Meeting Held With High-Level Burman

92AS1457A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 14 Aug 92 p 9

[Article by Subhash Chakravarti]

[Text] New Delhi, August 13—India and Burma have held high-level discussions to contain a misunderstanding of serious proportions. According to Indian sources, the Burman have created an impression that there is a military threat from India.

The director-general of the Burmese ministry of foreign affairs, Mr. U. Aye, had talks with Indian officials, including the foreign secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, today. The meeting attains significance in the context of speculation about Burma's perceived threat.

Indian sources maintain that the meeting was more an exercise to manage an unhappy situation rather than an attempt to make a significant change in the relations. This was the first high-level meeting between the two countries since the visit of the former Indian prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to Burma in 1988.

The Indian side made it clear to the visiting official that it would continue to support the movement for democracy in Burma and in particular the demand for the release of all political prisoners.

Mr. Dixit assured Mr. U. Aye that India had no designs on Burma and was interested in maintaining normal relations. India also sought the co-operation of Burma in resolving outstanding bilateral issues.

Highly placed Indian sources are making no secret of their reservations about what they call Burmese attempts to discredit India and to justify the facilities now being given to China to build a naval reconnaissance establishment in a sensitive area near the Indian border. They say that the so-called threat of an Indian intervention is being maintained by Burma to justify its massive acquisition of arms from China.

The ruling military clique in Burma is seeking to maintain good relations with both China and Thailand at a time when it is facing pressure from India and other Asian countries to restore democracy. Indian sources also maintain that Burma is accommodating interests of the Thai military in respect of timber-logging and the gem trade.

China has a great deal to gain from its present arrangement with Burma. China gets easy access to the Bay of Bengal where in a place called Haingyi it is busy building naval reconnaissance facilities. It is a thin strip going down to the Malaysian peninsula just across the Indian island of Andaman. Access to these facilities should enable China to play a role in the area to maintain its pressure on south-east Asian countries from their western flank. The exercise is seen in New Delhi as part of China's design to regain its influence in the wake of the Cambodian peace settlement.

Mauritian Minister Interviewed in Madras

92AS1461A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 8 Aug 92 p 9

[Interview with Mauritian Minister of Foreign Affairs Paul Raymond Berenger on 7 Aug 92 in Madras]

[Text] Madras, Aug 7—Mauritius will seek the creation of subregional peace zones in the wider Indian Ocean area. According to the Mauritian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Paul Raymond Berenger, his country "would favour the approach of moving through subregions rather than getting stuck—because all the elements are not there for forward movement in the whole of the Indian Ocean region." As an Indian Ocean territory, Mauritius has been a key player in the politics of the peace zone concept.

In an interview to *THE HINDU* here on Friday, the visiting Minister however, maintained that there was no indication that the countries of the region were losing interest in the peace zone concept itself. In particular, he disagreed with a suggestion that the recent Indo-U.S. naval exercises, which took place in the vicinity of the Indian Ocean, might have served as a sign of New Delhi's waning interest in continuing the search for an internationally acceptable formula for a peace zone.

Changed realities

Mr. Berenger's main argument in support of a "subregional approach" was that the "realities have changed." The changes sweeping across the world should be taken into account in refashioning the idea that was approved by the United Nations General Assembly more than two decades ago.

Of utmost importance was the disappearance of the U.S.-Soviet "bipolarity" in world affairs. "Now we are very much in a unipolar world. And Mauritius, for one, like many of us, would like to see all of us moving towards a multi-polar world." This, according to him, explained the need to carve out subregional zones of peace in a more comprehensive sense than mere nuclear-weapons-free zones.

NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] issue

The various peace zone ideas had, in a sense, "got mixed up with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) issue," he said, and added that his country was not of the view that nuclear-arms-arsenal-free zones would be "a panacea" for regional peace across the world. It was in this context that Mauritius fully appreciated India's standpoint on the NPT question.

Asked about his country's reported proposal for informal consultations between the NPT signatories and those other countries, such as India, which opposed the NPT's discriminatory provisions, Mr. Berenger said a dialogue of this nature might help sort out the differences in time for the NPT review conference in 1995.

It was important to start consultations as soon as possible, he pointed out. It was the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, who suggested that a beginning could, perhaps, be made at the forthcoming nonaligned summit in Jakarta.

Diego Garcia

As for the status of Diego Garcia, which has been a prime foreign policy concern of Mauritius, the Minister said the Major Government in the United Kingdom had very recently written to Port Louis in a tone that marked an advance over that of the previous British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

The latest British communication could be interpreted as a sign of willingness on the part of London to discuss the idea of giving Mauritius some form of "conditional sovereignty" over the Chagos Archipelago. Asked how this could be negotiated, Mr. Berenger reaffirmed his country's sovereign rights over the entire archipelago. Port Louis would, however, "rule nothing out" as a possible solution, keeping in mind the issues of both sovereignty and the continuing strategic importance of Diego Garcia even in the unfolding post-Cold War era.

Regional Affairs

Rao Notes Aims in Relations With Pakistan

92AS1452A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Aug 92 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, August 6 (PTI)—India today strongly refuted Pakistani allegations that it was fomenting trouble in Sindh province and said talks to resolve the disputes would continue.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, and the minister of state for external affairs, Mr. L. Bhatia, made clear to members in the Rajya Sabha during question hour that India wanted good relations with Pakistan and there was no question of any interference in Sindh province.

Mr. Rao said, "we go on talking in spite of setbacks. Naturally talks cannot take place in a bitter atmosphere and, therefore, we put them off for some time."

India will be on guard and that is our policy, Mr. Rao said when members noted that certain elements were trying to escalate tensions between the two countries in the eve of the foreign secretary-level talks on August 16.

Mr. Rao said talks were a continuous process. "Until we are able to break this barrier created artificially or created naturally—I don't know which—we have to go on talking and we have to go along with it," he said.

About the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] member, Mr. Anant Ram Jaiswal's proposal for forming a loose federation of countries in the subcontinent, the Prime Minister said he was open to all suggestions.

He said he was willing to discuss the matter with the member if he could outline a "viable proposition" in this regard.

In another intervention, the Prime Minister said there was no set agenda for the talks.

But whenever talks were scheduled to take place, it was almost always that something happened on the Pakistani side. As a result, the enthusiasm with which we approach each other was dampened, he said.

The Prime Minister said if we fall prey to certain elements which try to escalate tension before the talks then those doing it would succeed.

Mr. Bhatia, said Mr. Rao had discussed the matter at least three times with his Pakistani counterpart in the recent past which included the latest meeting in Rio.

Referring to the talks, Mr. Bhatia said they were confidence-building measures.

Pakistan Seen Increasingly Supportive of Terrorism

92AS1433B Varanasi AJ (Supplement) in Hindi
2 Aug 92 pp I, III

[Article by Uday Narayan Singh: "Terrorism: Pakistan Military's Principal Strategic Weapon"]

[Text] Terrorism is a vague and extremely sad part of world diplomacy. It is like the bomb thrown in the dark, which can harm any person, and that person could be a close relative. Until now, only Libya and Israel were notorious for their involvement in terrorist activities in the world. Pakistan is not much further behind.

Pakistan has made terrorism a regular part of its domestic and international policy. Be it military dictators or the present rulers, they all have used terrorism as a cheap tool for their popular acceptance and they are using this tool to resolve all their country's problems. All Pakistan's policies are formulated within the framework of terrorism, and this has become a major part of the thinking of Pakistani leaders.

Recently the Indian community in Britain held a meeting in London in which they condemned Pakistan and asked the United Nations to declare Pakistan a terrorist nation. This is not a new demand. Rather, it represents the desires of millions of peace-loving people in the world who have suffered from Pakistani policies and those who want to establish peace and goodwill around the world.

India's Objections

Pakistan has followed a policy of hatred and enmity toward India since its establishment. It considers India its greatest enemy and has been involved in anti-India activities. It went as far as to try its strength with India in three wars in October 1947, April-August 1965, and

March-December 1971. It not only raises the Kashmir issue to mislead its people and to encourage them toward anti-India activities, but also pushes its own economy to the brink of disaster. Pakistan has made opposing India a regular part of its policy and makes all its plans with India in mind. Pakistan purchases all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons, legally or illegally, for use against India, jeopardizing even its developmental projects to eradicate abject poverty. Whenever Pakistan stockpiled weapons, it used them against India. Pakistan's leaders and military dictators have always spewed poison in the minds of the people against India, so that the Pakistani people ignore the problems of meeting their basic needs and focus on hatred against India.

Cold War Period

The world went through the Cold War for four decades before the disintegration of the Soviet Union. During that time, Pakistan condoned all U.S. policies whether right or wrong and obtained unlimited economic and military aid. Not only this, but it also encouraged the United States toward anti-India policies. It did not worry even about its own autonomy in this campaign and mortgaged its cities, military bases, and even the port of Karachi into American hands. The United States used Pakistan's gifts at will and even controlled Pakistan's politics. During that time, the Soviet Union interfered in Afghanistan and established a new democratic [sic] system there. The United States needed to start anti-Soviet propaganda and terrorist activities in Afghanistan. Pakistan gave its full support to this task. Military training camps to train Afghan terrorists were established in many places in Pakistan at U.S. directions. All of these military camps were managed by U.S. military officers with U.S. financing. Afghan rebel soldiers received training in these camps and continued their activities upon returning to Afghanistan. They made many unsuccessful efforts to uproot the Afghan Government. They made many armed attacks on Kandahar, Jalalabad, and Kabul.

The Path to Terrorism

Pakistan received the first lesson in using terrorism during the Afghan crisis. The removal of President Najibollah's government boosted the courage of the present Pakistani rulers. They began to think that any government can be removed using terrorism. A special joy was expressed in Pakistan at that time, and the leaders there made Kashmir their new target for using this medium. They planned to have the present pro-Pakistan government of Afghanistan help them attain this goal. Afghanistan, however, is very involved in its own affairs now, and armed soldier groups are fighting among themselves. As long as this internal struggle continues, Afghan rebels will not have the time to enter Kashmir to sabotage the situation there. However, whichever armed group takes control of Afghanistan for a longer period will not dare to interfere in India's internal affairs because it would cost them dearly.

New Training Camps

Pakistan has established eight new training camps to continue various terrorist activities. These camps are managed by the Pakistani intelligence agency, Inter-Services Intelligence. Its director is Pakistan's veteran military officer, Brigadier Javed. The terrorists are trained to use the latest weapons. These training camps are located in Gohat, Larkana, Sangli, Sargodha, Cuttack, Murree, Sialkot, and Lahore. A special search council decides which terrorist will be trained in which training camp. Major terrorists from Punjab and Kashmir are the leaders of this council, which includes members of Punjab Khadak Sanghathan, Khalistan Commando Force, Babbar Khalsa, All India Sikh Students' Federation, and Bhindrawala Tigers Force. The training focuses on religious fundamentalism; blowing up bridges, railway lines, and communication systems; and operating rifles, pistols, light machine guns, rocket launchers, and grenades. The Pakistani Government is also operating 13 permanent, 18 temporary, and 8 joint training camps in Azad Kashmir. A total of 3,700 terrorists are receiving training in these camps. Some camps are said to train "suicide brigades." Pakistan is helping increase terrorist activities in India by sending these trained terrorists here.

Even though the United States is opposing Pakistan's terrorist activities now and Pakistan is being isolated in international politics because of its terrorist activities, Pakistan is still following its anti-India policies. It is still involved in activities that hurt peace in India and cause new problems for India. However, these Pakistani activities will not last long. Many major world powers have begun to feel that terrorism is not a solution to any problem and the nations involved in terrorism themselves become entangled in new problems. Such opinions are being expressed at the international level. Therefore, the time is not distant when this weapon of terrorism will prove self-destructive to Pakistan and its people. The policy of fear, terrorism, and hatred is never effective for long. Pakistan also will be forced to give up this policy.

Pakistanis Resist Asif Nawaz's Delhi Visit

92AS1506A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 27 Aug 92 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Voices of Disapproval in Pakistan"; quotation marks, boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 26. The Indian Government's invitation to Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Asif Nawaz, to visit New Delhi has evoked fierce resistance in his country. That the proposal would be viewed with suspicion was expected here but the intensity of opposition has come as a surprise. As India sees it, the ball is now in Pakistan's court.

It was to forestall the opposition in Pakistan that the idea of inviting its Army Chief was first mooted informally—through a public statement by the Defence Minister, Mr.

Sharad Pawar. There were voices of disapproval in Pakistan, but India was not deterred.

The rationale of the invitation and the manner in which it has been extended is the result of a considered policy decision. India did not want to be exposed to the charge of trying to score a point or to fling a surprise on Pakistan. That accounted for the advance informal indication. Also, care was taken to observe the correct procedure—and, as such, the invitation was conveyed through the proper channels, the civilian authority. The opportunity provided by the presence of the Pakistan foreign secretary, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, was utilised for handing over the letter of invitation (for the General) to him.

The decision, New Delhi reasons, is part of the initiatives for confidence-building measures, especially those in the military field. It stems from the belief that direct contacts between the military establishments of the two countries would make for transparency and reduce the risk of an armed conflict. It is considered in line with the steps already taken at India's instance, like advance notice of military manoeuvres and movement of troops, and stoppage of air space violations by military aircraft.

Newspaper comments: If the comments of major newspapers in Pakistan are any indication, the Indian move has been seen in a completely different light. Here are excerpts from the editorials that speak for themselves:

NATION has this to say on the invitation: 'Why should New Delhi deem it necessary to invite Pakistan's Army Chief when normal channels of communication between the two countries are open and available for discussion on any issue that needs to be sorted out unless there is a sinister design to bypass the authority of duly accredited negotiations.'

'It is an open secret that New Delhi has always been trying to bring the message home that there are parallel power centres in Pakistan and Islamabad's official spokesmen do not necessarily represent the actual balance of power in the country. Ironically, India's shifting stances vis-a-vis negotiations with Pakistan have been conveniently explained away by arrogating itself the right to sit in judgment on how the affairs of the government were being run in Pakistan. If there was a military regime in Pakistan it was pronounced with disdain that it had no representative character, and when it happened to be an elected government in power, they would want to play ball with the military establishment, thereby implying that the civilian government did not call the shots'.

'Surely, there are no novices among New Delhi's policy planners who hope to create a soft corner in the heart of the Pakistan Army Chief by extending him New Delhi's hospitality. The gesture could, however, be meant to bring home the message of "honourable intentions" to Washington. The Indians are welcome to use all the tricks of the trade to curry favour with the overlord of the New World Order but certainly not at our expense.'

According to MUSLIM, 'Just as Gen. Aslam Beg's paying homage to the U.S. commander in Saudi Arabia served to underline that Pakistan establishment's loyalties lay not with the Muslim people of this land but with the butchers of Muslims in the Middle East, would Gen. Asif's proposed visit to New Delhi not underscore a similar declaration? That notwithstanding our leadership's pathetic rhetoric of sympathy and support for the Kashmiri Mujahideen, we are prepared to send our Army Chief to the very source of unparalleled barbarity being committed against the dauntless people of Kashmir?'

'Bonds with the Kashmiri Muslims defy a description in material terms. On the popular level, a visit by the Army Chief to New Delhi in the present set of circumstances would be profoundly inadvisable'.

Indian, Pakistani Ministers Meet in New Delhi

17 Aug Talks

92AS1505A Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Aug 92 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Kashmir: Pak. Views Under Study; boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 17. The first day of the official-level India-Pakistan dialogue today, that covered the entire gamut of bilateral relations, was described satisfactory by the two sides—not a mean achievement in the context of the tensions of the recent past. However, they differed on the modalities of the discussion on Jammu and Kashmir, while agreeing that the Shimla Agreement was to be the framework.

It was the sixth round of talks between the two Foreign Secretaries as part of an on-going exercise. The present incumbents, Mr. J.N. Dixit and Mr. Shaharyar Khan, were expected to finalise the code of conduct for the treatment of the diplomats of one country in the other as also a joint declaration on the ban on the development and use of chemical weapons. But the discussion on Kashmir, regarded the "core issue" by Pakistan, was still in the realm of uncertainty.

The divergence between the two sides on how to begin the talks on Kashmir came to light with the "initial response" of the Indian Government on the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif's letter to his Indian counterpart, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao. Mr. Sharif suggested talks under Article VI of the Shimla Agreement and India said "the suggestion would be considered and an appropriate response conveyed." The letter was given to the Prime Minister by Mr. Khan during a 30-minute call.

Reservations: That India had reservations about Mr. Sharif's proposal was evident from the comments of the Foreign Office spokesman. It was not possible, he said, to isolate individual Articles of the Shimla Agreement, which had to be viewed in totality as a document, aiming

at creation of congenial atmosphere for discussion of various problems. Secondly, as the Indian side told its guests, there had to be exclusive commitment to bilateralism, with a clear indication of eschewing efforts to internationalise problems of bilateral interest.

Pakistan sought discussion under Article VI because it contained a pointed reference to a "final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir." India, on the other hand, wanted the discussion in the context of the entire agreement, including Article IV which required the two sides to respect the Line of Control, not to seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations, and to undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of the line.

What strengthened India's reservations was the clarification offered by Mr. Khan during today's talks—and later at a press briefing. Pakistan's commitment to the Shimla Agreement, he told the Indian side, did not mean a dilution to its commitment to the U.N. Resolutions, calling for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir. While Pakistan would abide by the Shimla Agreement, it, according to him, would not feel deterred from invoking the U.N. Resolutions were not considered mutually exclusive.

Although the clarification became necessary because of the agency reports, carried by the morning papers, which had tended to over-interpret Mr. Khan's remarks on his arrival here yesterday, it provided an insight into Pakistan's thinking on the subject. The agency report gave the impression that Pakistan, while calling for "serious and meaningful" discussion with India on Kashmir had dropped reference to the U.N. Resolution—and it was, thus, a major departure from the previous stand. Mr. Khan emphasised that this was not a correct interpretation.

In view of these clarifications, the Foreign Office spokesman said, Mr. Sharif's letter "had to be seen in the proper context in order to ascertain if purposive discussions can be held in order to resolve the (Kashmir) issue." That was why Mr. Rao, it was stated, promised to "convey our response on how the issue could be discussed," after considering the idea contained in the letter. This, said the spokesman, was the initial reaction and did not foreclose any particular line of negotiation.

Considering what happened in Shimla in 1972 when India agreed to accommodate Pakistan by agreeing to repatriate 93,000 prisoners of war and to return its territory, the present legal quibbling over the agreement is highly ironic. The Pakistan Prime Minister of the day, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, had agreed not only to respect the line of control but also accepted it as the basis for a final solution. He wanted some qualifying words in the agreement so as to enable him to face the critics back home. Article VI, on which Pakistan now relied, was worded in that context. It said, "Both Governments agree that the respective heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time and that in the meanwhile the representatives

of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions or repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and resumption of diplomatic relations."

Mr. Khan was prompt in dispelling the misunderstanding likely to be caused by this morning's headlines—both in India and back home. He took the unusual step of arranging a mid-negotiation press briefing—to affirm that there was no departure in Pakistan's position and that his remark yesterday was a reaffirmation of the long-held stand. India's view of the Shimla Agreement, he said, was different from that of Pakistan.

18 Aug Talks

92AS1505B Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Aug 92 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Uncertainty Over Kashmir Persists: Accord on Craft Code"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 18. While the prospects of a dialogue between India and Pakistan on Kashmir remain uncertain, the two countries have nearly finalised the draft agreements on the treatment of diplomats and the ban on the development and use of chemical weapons. This was the outlook at the end of the second day of talks between the Foreign Secretaries, Mr. J.N. Dixit and Mr. Shaharyar Khan, today. The agreements will be signed and a joint statement issued tomorrow, the concluding day of the talks.

There was a shared concern over the spurt in violence in Afghanistan and the activities of extremists there. It was after a long time that their assessment on any aspect of the Afghan issue converged.

The exchange of views so far has been on expected lines. Apart from the two draft agreements, the discussion covered the possibility of increased cooperation within the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] framework, and the issues likely to figure at the NAM [Nonaligned Movement] summit in Jakarta next month.

As regards Kashmir, they differed on the modalities of a dialogue—with India wanting a clearer indication of a commitment to bilateralism, envisaged in the Shimla Agreement, and Pakistan agreeing to use it only as a mechanism within the framework of the U.N. resolutions. The arguments proffered by the two sides may not have been anticipated but the divergence was not surprise.

Gap in Perceptions

The observations by the two delegations on the subject served to highlight the gap in their perceptions. Pakistan sought to project Kashmir as a "core issue," which had to be tackled on a priority basis. It talked of the excesses by the Indian agencies on the people of Jammu and

Kashmir, of mishandling by India of the situation in the valley because of which the people of Pakistan were extremely perturbed. This evoked a sharp rejoinder from the Indian representatives who said the core-issue theory was a manifestation of the internal contradictions in Pakistan and was necessitated by the domestic compulsions there. India did some candid talking on continued Pakistani help to the perpetrators of terrorist violence in Kashmir and Punjab.

Interest now centered on the response, promised by the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to the suggestion by his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, for talks on Kashmir under a specified provision—Art. VI—of the Shimla Agreement. India, as became known yesterday when the letter containing the suggestion was delivered to Mr. Rao, would like the Shimla Agreement to be viewed in totality, there being no point in isolating different articles.

On Afghan Situation

The only new element today was the “frank and useful discussion”—to use the words of the foreign office spokesman—on Afghanistan, now in the throes of a violent upheaval. Pakistan, according to him, was as much concerned as India by the type of violence that could be generated by extremists. There was a convergence of views on the need to preserve the territorial integrity of Pakistan and its character as a sovereign, independent state. Both sides were worried about the adverse fall-out of extremism.

Tulbul Project

The two foreign secretaries also reviewed the progress in recent, separate discussions on the Tulbul navigation project and the delineation of the maritime boundary off the Kutch coast. Siachen, too, figured in the talks but there seemed no particular advance.

The Tulbul issue, at the moment, is the subject of angry comments in the Pakistani Press—the government has been warned not to let India delink the Tulbul project from the overall issue of the Wullar dam. There is no such excitement in India.

Similarly, a four-point formula on Kashmir put forward recently by a Carnegie Endowment Fellow, Mr. James Chad, claimed to be acceptable to New Delhi, has aroused more interest in Pakistan than India. Briefly put, the four points are (a) India would accept the Line of Control (LOC) as the international border; (b) it would yield a large chunk of area in the north enabling Pakistan to secure its strategic highway with China provided Pakistan, in return, agrees to surrender some area on the southern boundaries of Kashmir; (c) India will not frustrate or sabotage any future deal between China and Pakistan regarding Kashmir's territory; (d) once the India-Pak frontier is settled, India would open dozens of new transit points along the 2,912 km border which currently has just one crossing point.

According to a commentator in the daily NEWS OF KARACHI, Mr. Parvaz Iqbal, there was nothing new in the formula. “For years many Indian analysts have suggested acceptance of the existing LOC to resolve the dispute once and for all... To suggest now that it would accept the existing LOC as the permanent border between India and Pakistan is nothing more than merely seeking a legitimization of the policy that it has followed over the last 20 years,” he said.

The areas in the north were already in Pakistan possession, he noted and asked. “Do they intend to give some additional territories to link Siachen with the Karakoram Pass? Would India be willing to give up the entire glacier?”

He was equally perplexed by the suggestion envisaging transfer of some small chunk of land in the southern part of Kashmir (now occupied by Pakistan) to India. What exact area the Indians have in mind? Why is it necessary for them to acquire the desired area? Is it for strategic reasons or for straightening the border or for facilitating the communication or transit routes? Apart from the strategic reasons which could be viewed as part of the underlying compelling factors, the other reasons don't make much sense.

Talks End, Agreements Noted

92AS1505C Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Aug 92
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: “India, Pak. Agree To Talk on Kashmir”]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 19. The Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan ended their three-day talks today with the signing of two important documents and carrying forward the process of confidence-building measures. They agreed to address the Kashmir issue but the modalities of the proposed exercise are yet to be finalised.

On the substantive aspects of the Kashmir problem, their perceptions could not be reconciled. The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, it was clear, was not impressed by the suggestion of his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, for a dialogue on the subject within the confines of one provision of the Shimla Agreement and a formal reply would be sent soon.

A forthright enunciation of the Indian stand came from the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, who in a statement to the Lok Sabha ruled out talks unless Pakistan stopped helping terrorists in Kashmir and Punjab.

Two Documents Signed

The documents signed today by the two Foreign Secretaries, Mr. J.N. Dixit and Mr. Shaharyar Kahn, were a code of conduct relating to treatment of diplomats in the two countries, and a joint declaration on “complete prohibition” of chemical weapons. Also, they exchanged

instruments of ratification of the two agreements signed here in April 1991—on the steps to prevent air space violations by military aircraft and on advance notice of military manoeuvres and troop movements. There was, thus, a finality about the two measures, intended to be part of a package for promoting confidence.

Pak. Army Chief Invited

Another significant step in that direction was taken today as the Indian side formally handed over (to Mr. Khan) a letter of invitation to the Chief of the Army Staff of Pakistan, General Asaf Niwaz Janjua, to come here. The Indian intention to invite the Pakistan Army Chief was made known informally by the Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, some time back.

It was part of New Delhi's considered policy, based on the premise that contacts between the armed forces at various levels—including the highest—would go a long way in defusing tensions and avoiding misperceptions about each other's intentions. The idea was not to fling a surprise to score a point nor would New Delhi like it to be regarded an innovative or unprecedented step. In the peculiar situation that obtained in Pakistan for years in the past, the Army Chief happened to be the supreme ruler, who was invited in that capacity (as was the case with General Zia-ul-Haq). Earlier, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister, went to Pakistan for talks with Field Marshal Ayub Khan. In the wake of the Shimla Agreement, the army chiefs of the two sides, General Sam Manekshaw and General Tikka Khan, met in Lahore to discuss the aspects of its implementation, concerning them.

Four Meetings

The Foreign Secretaries agreed upon the schedule of four meetings to deal with bilateral irritants. The Defence Secretaries of the two sides will meet in the second half of October or the first half of November to find a way out of the Siachen imbroglio, possibly picking up from where it was left off in 1989. The Surveyors-General will meet in September to carry forward the talks on Sir Creek—and the delimitation of the maritime boundary in the Kutch area. Technical discussions on the issue of missing defence personnel and civilian prisoners were fixed for September-October. It was also agreed to hold a meeting of the India-Pakistan Committee to combat drug trafficking and smuggling.

This time-table, according to a Foreign Office spokesman, represented a measured and graduated approach to stabilise relations with Pakistan.

Dos and Don'ts

The code of conduct listed the dos and on don'ts for treatment of diplomats, to put an end to the unpleasant episodes of the type witnessed in Islamabad recently when a senior Indian diplomat was beaten up by Pakistan's intelligence men. The code commits the two sides to avoiding "intrusive surveillance" and other forms of

harassment of diplomats. It enjoins upon the agencies concerned to spare the families of diplomatic and consular personnel. It seeks to ensure safety of the staff and their families and respect the diplomat's right to receive guests.

The two Governments reaffirmed their faith in the Vienna Conventions of 1961 and 1963 and committed themselves to respecting the dignity of the diplomatic personnel, and inviolability of official vehicles. The code was undoubtedly important but more important would be the spirit in which it was implemented, as Mr. Dixit told his Pakistani counterpart.

Also, it includes a detailed agreement on visas to officials and their families and to the embassy staff as well as media representatives. Certain arrangements will also be made in regard to media projection. All this was to be based on strict reciprocity.

The "agreed press statement," issued at the end of the talks summed up the agreements signed and the decisions taken by the Foreign Secretaries. Also, it spoke of their resolve to discuss additional CBMs [confidence building measures], and to convene the subcommissions of the Joint Commission "at the appropriate time on mutually convenient dates." They, it said, discussed issues relating to disarmament and banning of weapons of mass destruction. It was agreed to consider issuing a joint declaration on biological weapons.

As regards Kashmir, the joint statement merely mentioned the fact of Mr. Khan handing over to Mr. Rao a letter from Mr. Nawaz Sharif relating to "a solution of the Jammu and Kashmir problem" and Mr. Rao's remark that a reply would be sent after considering the proposal. The letter suggested talks under Article VI of the Shimla Agreement which referred to "final settlement" of the Kashmir problem.

It was the statement, read out by Mr. Khan at a press conference, that spoke of their agreement to discuss Kashmir. "I derive satisfaction from the fact that we agreed that the issue of Jammu and Kashmir has to be addressed. Though our perceptions differ widely, the fact that we have agreed on the need to address this issue is a step forward."

The differing perceptions related to the form and modalities of the discussion. The "bottomlines" of the two sides were completely at variance and the form of discussion suggested by Pakistan was not acceptable to India.

Report in Lok Sabha

92AS1505D Madras *THE HINDU* in English
20 Aug 92 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Pak. Must Stop Aiding Terrorists in Punjab, J&K"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 19. While reaffirming its commitment to normalising relations with Pakistan and

resolving all issues peacefully, India has made it clear that meaningful discussions on bilateral issues, especially the more complex ones, could only be held when Islamabad stopped its support to terrorism and subversion in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

India's stand was spelt out today by the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, in a statement in the Lok Sabha on the talks of the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries.

During these talks, India, Mr. Bhatia said, had reiterated that "Pakistan's continued support to terrorism and subversion and interference in our internal affairs must stop and this issue must be put at reset without any further delay. We impressed on the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan that concrete evidence of this happening alone will provide the atmosphere for building up friendly relations with Pakistan."

Mr. Bhatia said the talks of the Foreign Secretaries had been postponed in June following the abduction and brutal treatment meted out to a senior Indian diplomat in Islamabad in violation of accepted norms of diplomatic relations. He referred to the agreement of the two Prime Ministers at Rio that, despite setbacks, it was necessary to reduce tensions and set the bilateral dialogue back on the track.

"We believe," said Mr. Bhatia, that there is no option but to continue the dialogue. We believe that channels of communication must be kept open with Pakistan and efforts undertaken to reduce tensions. "India, on its part, had kept the channel open, he said while mentioning the plans for next month's meeting of the two Prime Ministers in Jakarta.

Mr. Bhatia listed the decisions taken by the Foreign Secretaries and the agreements signed by them and said: "The bilateral talks with the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere. They were useful in that they have afforded us the opportunity to strongly urge that Pakistan must desist from, and realise the dangers inherent in, continued support for terrorism and subversion in India and to take urgent corrective action. The actual proof of Pakistan's sincerity in developing friendly relations with India will lie in Pakistan giving concrete evidence on the ground. We shall carefully watch the situation in this regard."

PTI reports:

Mr. Bhatia said the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Shaharyar Khan had handed over a letter from the Pakistan Premier, Mr. Nawaz Sharif to the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Mr. Rao has indicated that after due consideration of the contents of the letter, a reply would be sent.

The sixth round of talks, which did not have a fixed agenda, covered the whole range of bilateral issues between the two countries.

It also provided an opportunity for an exchange of views on regional and international issues of mutual interest.

Mr. Bhatia said during the talks, the Foreign Secretaries had reached agreement on a schedule of official level meetings in the coming months on certain pending issues of bilateral concern.

These include Siachen, Sir Creek, the issue of missing Indian defence personnel and civilian prisoners in Pakistan as well as the next round of meeting of the India-Pakistan committee to combat drug trafficking and smuggling.

Pakistan Official's Remarks

92AS1505E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 20 Aug 92 p 1

[Article: "Pakistan Happy With Talks"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 19. India and Pakistan today agreed on the need to address the Kashmir issue as they signed an agreement on a code of conduct for treatment of diplomats and a joint declaration on prohibition of chemical weapons, reports PTI.

At the conclusion of the three-day sixth round of talks the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Shaharyar Kahn, told a press conference that "though our perceptions differ widely, the fact that we have agreed on the need to address the issue is in itself a positive step forward."

Pakistan's bottom-line, he said, was that the process of self-determination should be carried out within the framework of the United Nations' resolutions.

Mr. Shaharyar Khan said he was yet to get the Indian response to his Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif's proposal that talks between the two countries to find a permanent solution to the J [Jammu] and K [Kashmir] problem be held under the concluding clause six of the 1972 Simla accord.

The Indian reply may be forthcoming during the Jakarta meeting of Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Nawaz Sharif on September 3 during the nonaligned summit.

India formally handed over a letter of invitation to the Pakistan army chief to visit India.

The Foreign Secretaries, Mr. Shaharyar Khan and Mr. J.N. Dixit, reached agreement on a schedule of meetings to discuss bilateral issues such as Siachen, Sir Creek maritime boundary and combating drug trafficking and smuggling.

The next round of Foreign Secretary-level talks between the two countries will be held at Islamabad at a mutually convenient date.

The Pakistani proposal for talks on J and K was contained in Mr. Nawaz Sharif's letter to the Prime Minister.

During the sixth round of talks here, the Indian side expressed reservations about the Pakistani proposal as it dealt exclusively with clause six of the Simla agreement.

Article six says that the heads of government of the two sides will meet at a mutually convenient time to discuss modalities and arrangements for establish of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including a final settlement of material Jammu and Kashmir.

The Indian side took the view that it was not possible to isolate individual articles of the Simla accord and that the agreement had to be viewed in its totality.

In the first place, discussions under the aegis of the Simla accord implied an exclusive commitment to bilateralism and eschewing efforts to internationalise questions of bilateral interest, it emphasised.

Military Change Unlikely

92AS1505F New Delhi *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
19 Aug 92 p 11

[Article by Pravin Sawhney: "Prospects of Changes in Military Realities Bleak"]

[Text] New Delhi. The Indo-Pak Foreign Secretaries' meeting is unlikely to translate into improvement at the military levels between the two countries, which implies reduction of troops along the Line of Control (LOC).

On the contrary, both sides have already heavily reinforced along the LOC. Moreover, the proposed agreement banning use of chemical weapons has little significance in itself, given the fact that Pakistan has on an earlier occasion violated such confidence-building measures, according to defence sources.

If at the political level India and Pakistan have divergent views—for Pakistan, Kashmir is the core issue and needs to be discussed bilaterally under the Shimla Agreement to an eventual solution under the U.N. resolution; for India, Kashmir is an integral part of the country and settlement of the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), which essentially means converting the LOC into an international border, can only be found under the Shimla Agreement—the military realities are more grim.

The basic military problem is that, notwithstanding the demarcation of the 1972 LOC under the Shimla Agreement, both countries' perceptions on the LOC itself are still incongruous. While India considers nearly 240 km from Chammb village to Madhopur headworks over river Ravi as an international border, being part of the erstwhile Jammu state, Pakistan treats this stretch as the disputed LOC. Moreover, Pakistani maps show Aksai Chin and nearly 5,000 sq km Shaksam valley between KK pass and Indira Col as their territory given over to China. India considers both as disputed areas.

For the remaining 700 km LOC from Chammb to Indira Col, Indian military stand has been that the LOC must be respected pending political solution of the Kashmir

problem. Pakistan, on the other hand, since 1990 when there was an uprising in the Kashmir Valley because of government's omissions and commissions over the years, has made many attempts to change the LOC itself.

Especially areas which make bulges on the LOC or inroads in relation to the general run of terrain, thereby facilitating both infiltration and infiltration support, have repeatedly come under heavy Pakistani artillery fire. These are Poonch, Hajipir and Bugina bulges, Gureiz, Northern gallies and Draz-Kargil stretch. The covert aim being to support the insurgency in the Valley both morally and with material, and also attempts to take over the dominating high mountain pickets along the LOC.

This violates the sanctity of the LOC and is against the grain of the Shimla Agreement, which resulted in the present LOC through give-and-take of territory after the 1971 war. Under the military agreement after the war, Pakistan got Chammb village and tracts west of Manawar Tawi (which India lost in the war). India got more overlooking heights in the Kargil sector, thereby improving its tactical position obtained in the cease-fire-line drawn after the 1965 war. About 22 km in Shyok valley in subsector west also came to India. Kargil heights are operationally important for India as it overlooks the road life-line to Leh.

By incessantly shelling such operationally important pickets as in Kargil, the two countries, effectively speaking, are at war confined geographically to material, Kashmir and Northern territories, with varying emphasis. This state of war along the LOC, in Siachen where the LOC was never defined and in the prevalent insurgency in the valley and parts of Jammu division are costing the nation huge amounts.

Nearly 22 divisions (each with 10,000 troops) of the total 33 divisions have been committed to the LOC and internal stability tasks in the border states of Kashmir, Punjab and Assam. This has affected training, administration, maintenance of equipment and morale of the troops. "For this reason alone, the present status quo, which is a mid-intensity conflict on the LOC and low-intensity conflict within the country, should tremendously suit Pakistan," observed a senior officer.

With Siachen talks put on the back-burner since 1989 by both countries, and present talks not addressing to the moot issue of reduction of troops along the LOC, the other CBM [confidence building measure] are being viewed by the defence services as mere symbolism.

For instance, the suggested agreement on banning use of chemical weapons bilaterally has little significance, considering both India, under conference of disarmament document CD/PV 459 of 1988, and Pakistan, under CD/PV 339 of 1986, have already internationally declared that they are neither in possession of any chemical weapons nor intend producing and acquiring them in future. India has gone to the extent of ensuring

that their defence teaching material in various schools of instructions clearly states that the government will not resort to chemical warfare.

Pakistani track-record in connection with the CBMs has been far from satisfactory, thus, leaving grave doubts about the utility of these measures beyond being diplomatic jargon.

For instance, the day Pakistan government in August 1991 ratified the memorandum of understanding on nonviolation of air space between the two countries, Pakistani helicopter was found violating Indian air space on Poonch.

Considering that both countries have sophisticated navigational aids on their rotary and fixed wing aircraft, the incident cannot be dismissed as unintentional.

Pakistan Build-Up on Border 'Worrying' Jammu Authorities

*BK1708160192 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
in English 8 Aug 92 p 7*

[Article by Aarun Joshi]

[Excerpt] Jammu, Aug. 7—A massive build-up of troops and armoury on the other side of the border is worrying authorities here, for whenever there has been an unusual movement along the Line of Control by Pakistan, it has caused problems on this side of the border.

While the night curfew is already in force in the border villages in Rajoun and Poonch districts, the District Magistrate, Jammu, Mr. Parvez Dewan, has ordered similar restrictions in the villages close to the border in the district. These measures speak amply of the authorities' concern on the situation in the border areas. There is a widespread apprehension that Pakistan would not only attempt to push the trained militants through the Line of Control but also smuggle in large quantities of arms and ammunition.

Throughout the 234-km long Line of Control in Jammu region, Pakistani troops have built new bunkers, observatory posts and have also dug new trenches. The troops have been brought closer to the border. Such activity has been witnessed on the other side of the border for the past so many months, but this has been intensified for the past fortnight and Pak troops have regularly shelled Indian positions.

Military sources here point out that the Pakistan build-up, if not parallel to the days of the Operation Brasstacks and Zarbe-Momin exercise days in 1987 and 1989 respectively, it is somewhat close to it. These are clearly the advance positions of the troops on the other side. Pakistan had done so in early 1990 as well, these sources observed. This kind of concentration causes tension and most of the time it is unnecessary. But the experience has shown that Pakistan is doing so with ill intentions.

"Earlier, we were taking all this as routine activity connected with the periodic change of the troops or repair of bunkers, etc. during the monsoon. But the continuing activity for over a long period has given credence to our doubts that Pakistan is up to something," these sources said. "But we are fully prepared," they added.

In August-September last year Pakistani troops had entered the Indian territory in Kerni area in Poonch sector in a sudden attack. "But even in that situation, we had repulsed them and not only recaptured our area but also made it sufficiently clear that Pakistan should not repeat such misadventures." Pakistani troops had suffered heavy casualties in that weeklong clash, which by the Army here is described as the "limited war."

This time the Indian Army is on maximum alert and prepared to foil the attempts of the Pakistani troops to intimidate or infiltrate.

The factor that is giving anxious moments on this side besides the massive build-up on the other side is the nexus established between the Punjab and Kashmiri militants. In the last week of July, the Army arrested several Punjab and Kashmiri militants from the Rajouri sector. This had dangerous portents. It was known that these two kinds of militants were receiving training in Pakistan, but when they used the same route for crossing over to this side, it demonstrated that the two groups were having a firm nexus.

This fact was further strengthened by the arrest of Satinderpal Singh and some other activists of various militant groups operating in Punjab, including Babbar Khalsa. When the Kashmiri militants also came through the same routes, it became clear that their masters across had brought in some kind of an understanding between them. This understanding sends dangerous signals for Jammu region, where both the Punjab and Kashmiri militants had struck from time to time in the past. If the Kashmiri and Punjab militants act in cohesion in a place like Jammu sandwiched between turbulent Punjab and the Kashmir Valley, things are definitely going to be hot.

For countering this dangerous phenomenon, the authorities are relying mainly on an increased vigil along the Line of Control, curfew in the border areas and scant support for the militants in the border areas of Jammu region. The people in the border area of Jammu region have seen wars in 1947, 1965 and 1971 and have not forgotten the ultimate results. [passage omitted]

Article Examines Sri Lankan Accord's Effect on Tamils

92AS1414B Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 29 Jul 92 p 6

[Commentary by T. Raghavan: "Indo-Sri Lanka Pact and the Problem of Eelam Tamils"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Indo-Sri Lanka pact was signed on this day, five years ago. This article details as to how the concerned parties behaved during the period, how they should have worked together, and how exactly the problems could be solved in the future.

The object for which the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement was forged has not been achieved until today. The signatories to the pact, the Government of India as well as the Sri Lankan Government, seem to have forgotten that such a pact was ever made.

During the intervening five-year period, how many changes have taken place! There have been changes in Indo-Sri Lankan relations, in the international political scene, in the relations between the freedom fighters of Eelam and India, and in the relationship between the Eelam fighters themselves. In every sphere, there have been topsy-turvy changes all around, but problems still remain intact without any change.

As long as Tamil-speaking people are in India and Sri Lanka, the Indian Government cannot escape its responsibility in solving this problem. Due to the geopolitical importance that India enjoys in the region, the government should again assume its responsibility in solving the problem of the Eelam Tamils.

When we say that India's contribution in solving the Eelam Tamil problem is a must, there is a feeling of bitterness among people due to the fact that all the steps taken by the Government of India have become futile, worsening to the extent of the cruel murder of former Premier Rajiv Gandhi by the Tamil Tigers. Under the circumstances, to enable the Indian Government to contribute toward solving this problem in a proper way, it becomes necessary to analyze the past actions of all the concerned parties.

For the last 40 years, Sri Lankan Tamils have been subjected to oppression by the Sinhalese ethnic forces, and to free themselves from this situation, the Eelam Tamils began to fight for their rights, in the initial stages through democratic means and later through violent means. And the moral basis of their stand could never be disputed. To enable the Eelam people to fight and win their rights, it is necessary that they get the support and approval of the nations of the world. As a first step in this effort, the Eelam fighters tried to get support for their struggle from Tamil Nadu and India. The people of Tamil Nadu, bounded together by common race, language, and culture with the Tamils of Eelam, gave their wholehearted support.

Eelam Fighters and Tamil Nadu

Eelam fighters in their struggle for their rights, as a first step had to evolve a favorable atmosphere to win the support of the Tamil Nadu people. In seeking to enlist the support of the Government of India, which is a very powerful country in the South-East Asian region, they should have clearly understood and acted with the realization that Tamil Nadu is not an independent entity,

but just one of many states of India. Eelam fighters would have easily won full support of the people of Tamil Nadu if only their actions had not provoked a danger to India's integrity and sovereignty. The fighters should have acted clearly in the early stages with the realization that by acting against the interests of the nation, they would be incurring the wrath of the Government of India and that they would be barred from carrying on any activity in Tamil Nadu. Thus Eelam fighters today face a situation in which they have lost the support of Tamil Nadu and the Government of India; there is nobody who could raise a voice of protest against anything that might happen to the Eelam Tamils.

For such a state of affairs, the Tamil Eelam Tigers are solely responsible. All the various groups that struggle to fulfill the aspirations of Eelam liberation should have presented a united front to win the support of Tamil Nadu. They should have kept away from involvement in local Tamil Nadu politics and tried to gain the support of all parties. But due to the fascist and antidemocratic activities of the Tamil Tigers, the Eelam liberation movements could not stand united. The Tigers played a part in the local political scene by supporting M. G. Ramachandran, and opposing M. Karunanidhi and later speaking in favor of Karunanidhi and against Jayalitha—all of these are tantamount to outrageous interference in local politics. The Tigers also opposed the Indian Peacekeeping Force for Sri Lanka. To the separatist forces in Tamil Nadu, they supplied arms aid. Finally, they also murdered former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Thus the legitimate liberation fight for Eelam stands discredited today as a terrorist movement.

Actions of the Tamil Nadu Political Parties

Next we have to analyze the role of the Tamil Nadu political parties in the Eelam liberation fight. In 1983, many refugees came to Tamil Nadu following the ethnic disturbance in Sri Lanka. The people of Tamil Nadu were outraged on hearing so many tales of woe about the treatment meted out to the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Indian Union, being a federal structure consisting of various states, had to respect the sentiments of the people of Tamil Nadu. The Sri Lankan Government had acquired a large amount of military aid from some of the Western countries to put down the Eelam liberation fight. India, fearing a threat to its own security caused by such massive arms aid, took a position in support of the legitimate liberation struggle of the Eelam Tamils. India allowed a large number of Tamil refugees into the state of Tamil Nadu, and it also initiated many moves to bring about negotiations between the liberation fighters and the Sri Lankan Government.

There was abundant sympathy for the Eelam Tamils and keen interest in finding a solution among the majority of the people of Tamil Nadu and the political parties were vying with each other in championing the cause. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Anna Dravida

Munnetra Kazhagam and other regional political parties, in their election manifestos promised to take up the issue.

These parties used the issue of Eelam Tamils for their own purposes based on likes and dislikes and political gains.

M. G. Ramachandran as well as Karunanidhi had many opportunities to bring together various groups of the liberation movement of Eelam. They not only failed to use the opportunity, but also worked to widen the cleavage between the various factions.

On many occasions, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam spoke, comparing the Eelam struggle to that of the Tamil Nadu separatist movement. The communist parties, which always rushed to give support to any freedom struggle throughout the world, instead of guiding the Dravidian parties satisfied itself with merely passing a resolution.

The Congress party, as an organization, did not act in any manner to jeopardize the case of Eelam issue.

The Method of Approach of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front

Although the large support given by the people of Tamil Nadu for the Eelam struggle was disrupted by the activities of the Tamil Tigers, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front [EPRLF] is unique among freedom-fighters' movements. It is the one and only organization that did not in any way interfere, in spite of so many crises, with the local political affairs of Tamil Nadu and India, that didn't convert itself as a handmaid of any political party, and that acted wisely. In accordance with its international policies, the EPRLF strove hard to forge closer ties to the Indian communist parties, which are part of the world labor movement.

The Front took the initiative to bring together various groups to make a success of the Eelam struggle. It also established contacts with all Tamil Nadu political parties and tried to gain their support. If only this Front as well as its secretary late Padbanaba had been duly recognized, encouraged, and supported at early stages by the Indian Government and the Tamil Nadu political parties, the Sri Lankan Tamil's problem would have been solved correctly.

Indo-Sri Lanka Pact

Due to the fascist and antidemocratic actions of the Tigers and the reactionary policies of the Tamil Nadu political parties, the effectiveness of the Eelam movement deteriorated. At a time when the Sinhalese military brought under its full control the Tamil-speaking areas of Sri Lanka, the Indo-Sri Lanka pact came into being.

Although the provisions of the pact do not fully solve all the problems of Eelam Tamils, it paved the way to creating an atmosphere in which to make a beginning for a comprehensive solution and to evolve a peaceful

atmosphere in Eelam. In the beginning, the Tigers accepted the pact. All the freedom-fighters' movements, including EPRLF, accepted the Indo-Sri Lanka pact as a step to an interim solution of the problem. To carry out the provisions of the pact, the Government of India had to take stern measures. As a result, a provincial government was created for the Tamils. Within a year of its creation, the government was dissolved by the Tigers and Premadasa's government.

If the opposition parties and the press had not pressured the Government of India and if the Indian Peacekeeping Force had continued in Sri Lanka, the Tigers would have been completely annihilated. It would have been possible for the people of Eelam to lead a peaceful life. But, unfortunately, that did not happen.

Has the problem been solved after the exit of the Indian Peacekeeping Force from Sri Lanka? The government of Premadasa tries to reject India's intervention in the Eelam problem. To that end, Tigers also help them. Padbanaba, time and again reiterated that without India's participation, the Eelam problem cannot be solved.

Following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, although the Congress party formed the government in New Delhi, no action has been taken to carry out the provisions of the pact signed by Rajiv Gandhi and no initiative has been taken to solve the Eelam issue. The policy seems to be that India has nothing to do with the current situation. As long as there are Tamils in India and Sri Lanka, the Indian Government cannot be indifferent to the problem and this is the plain truth.

Indo-Bangladesh Trade Talks End, Pact Extended

92AS1453A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Aug 92 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, August 6—India and Bangladesh today extended the bilateral trade agreement for another three years until October 1995. The two sides concluded the trade review talks with India agreeing to import urea, newsprint, scrapped railway wagons and phosphoric acid from Bangladesh in an attempt to rectify the adverse trade balance against the latter.

India also agreed to remove the quota restriction on import of Jamdani sarees and to reduce the import duty from 50 percent at present to 30 percent.

Ways to rectify the trade imbalance was the key issue which figured prominently in the discussions between the Indian delegation led by the minister of state for industry, Mr. P.J. Kurien, and the Bangladesh team headed by the minister of commerce, Mr. M.K. Anwar. The trade volume between the two countries in 1991-92 was worth Rs[rupees] 823.60 crores, in which India had a positive balance of Rs 795.28 crores. Both sides expressed their keenness on achieving a trade balance.

Since Bangladesh's capacity for stepping up its exports to India was rather limited, it was felt that certain "supportive facilities" should be explored for balancing the two-way trade. Transit through Bangladesh and border trade were discussed in this context.

The two delegations noted that transit trade through the Chittagong port in Bangladesh could offer enormous opportunities for expanding the bilateral trade. Goods from India could be transported by waterways to the Bangladesh port, from where these could be imported back into India through the Akhaura rail junction. This would have a tremendous impact on the economic development of the North-Eastern region of India.

The Bangladesh delegation evinced an interest in the transit trade proposal, but sought more time to examine it. The proposal is expected to be given a more concrete shape at the meeting of the Indo-Bangladesh joint economic commission which is scheduled to meet in Dhaka in October. The minister of state for external affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, will lead the Indian team at the talks.

Also, the Bangladesh finance minister, Mr. Saifur Rahman, is due to visit India in early September in response to an invitation by the finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh.

The trade review talks which concluded today were held in a cordial and frank atmosphere and covered extensive ground including co-operation in project implementation, trade generating joint ventures and technology transfer. The Bangladesh Prime Minister, Begum Zia's visit here at the end of May this year and the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh on June 26 are said to have set the stage for improving economic co-operation between the two countries.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, will visit Dhaka in December to participate in the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit.

Internal Affairs

Center Cautioned on V.P. Singh's 'Mischief' Politics

92AS1494A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 12 Aug 92 p 8

[Editorial: "The Dal Tactics on Mandal"]

[Text] Faced with the worst ever crisis threatening its very survival with considerable number of MPs [members of Parliament] and legislators in Bihar deserting the Janata Dal, the leadership, notably former Prime Minister V.P. Singh, finds the only convenient tool, the Mandal Commission Report, to divert the attention of the people. In fact, the Janata Dal has become irrelevant politically because of heterogeneous elements, with nothing common ideology-wise, but retains the mischief potential, which is why its latest move to launch a nationwide agitation cannot be glossed over.

Much havoc was wrought by the V.P. Singh Government when it had exhumed the Mandal Report, which was buried for decades, with the sole purpose of cutting down to size Mr. Devi Lal by the then Prime Minister. The result was the agonising strife across the country with the people divided into pro and anti quota forces as the issue had all the emotive elements. There is a broad consensus on the need for due weighage to the hitherto neglected classes and for the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations with suitable modifications so that the economically backward sections are not left behind. Mr. V.P. Singh could succeed in causing havoc and registered a negative gain but the 1991 general elections had relegated the Janata Dal into an inconsequential party, save in Bihar. Since then it has not been able to retain its strength, with frequent expulsions and resignations, and today it is truncated and should the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Shivraj Patil, accede to the request of the 13 MPs for recognition as a separate party, the Dal will be once again split to become no more than an outfit of V.P. Singh, Paswan and Sharad Yadav. And this is apparently the precise reason why Mr. Singh is set on stoking the flames once again in the hope of deriving political advantage. Unfortunately, V.P. Singh's outlook is one of "after me the deluge." He would transform into anything to achieve this. He has systematically driven out those he thought were potential rivals such as Devi Lal, Chandrasekhar and Ajit Singh. The party, still in some strength in Bihar and Karnataka, is in doldrums and on the verge of split. Ramakrishna Hegde is totally disillusioned with the adventurism of V.P. Singh while Laloo Prasad Yadav in Patna is trading his apparent minority government (with JMM [Jan Mukti Morcha] withdrawing support) to sustain himself in power.

Ever since it assumed office the P.V. Narasimha Rao government has been grappling with the problem and much spade work has been done. It is a serious and sensitive issue and the Centre will have to carry along everyone to decide upon the economic criterion for job reservation. It is in the process of consultations with leaders of various national parties in the context of the Supreme Court's judgement whether or not economic backwardness should be the basis, and the Centre will be able to convey to the Supreme Court only after the exercise is completed. In any case, as Mr. L.K. Advani pointed out the issue required to be approached cautiously but Mr. V.P. Singh and Co. want to hustle through. It is not as if the reservation rule is not in force at present but the Mandal Report has wider dimensions. The August 1990 order provided for economic component in the 27 percent quota for backward classes. The heavens won't come down by giving some more time to the government and it is not as if there are many jobs going abegging for being filled. The talk of agitation is unreal and mischievous to say the least. Let not narrow politics once again gain upper hand at this critical juncture in the nation's history.

Consensus in Vice Presidential Selection Lauded

92AS1414C Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 31 Jul 92
p 6

[Editorial: "The Republic's Vice President"]

[Text] Unlike the hotly contested election for the president of the republic, the election for the vice president of India was evolved by a general consensus. Premier Narasimha Rao's consultations with opposition parties bore fruit. For his candidate K. R. Narayanan, the National Front and leftist parties have announced their support. The Bharatiya Janata Party, which had initially insisted that this position should go to opposition parties, ultimately agreed to support Narayanan. If no independents come forward to contest the election, Narayanan is bound to be elected unopposed.

Narayanan, a member of the Indian Foreign Service, served as India's ambassador to China and the United States of America. Later he entered the political arena and held positions under Rajiv Gandhi's prime ministership as minister of state for external affairs and also minister of state for science and technology. He was also vice chancellor of the Jawaharlal Nehru University. A man of varied experience, Narayanan is no doubt well-suited to the position.

The reason why the National Front and the leftist parties supported Narayanan is because he belongs to a Scheduled Class. During the presidential elections, when the leftist parties agreed to support Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the prime minister assured them that he would give the vice presidency to Narayanan. Now, the prime minister has fulfilled that promise. This outcome can be pleasing to Janata Party leader V. P. Singh who professes to be a champion of the oppressed classes. The prime minister did not consider seriously the objections raised by Kerala's Chief Minister Karunakaran against Narayanan's candidacy.

The vice president's main responsibility is to preside over and conduct the meetings of the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of India's Parliament. These days when shouting, uproar, and confusion are on the increase in the house, the presiding officer needs a lot of patience and strong determination. It is said that Narayanan does not show a strong inclination to be strict. We hope that he will dispel such doubts and conduct the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha effectively.

The present arrangement with Dr. Sharma, who hails from the state of Madhya Pradesh, as president and Narayanan, who belongs to the state of Kerala, as vice president is in accordance with the tradition we have adhered to until now. The tradition is that one of the two positions should go to the leader from the northern region and the other to the one from the southern region. Therefore, there is a possibility that after Sharma, Narayanan may become the president of the Republic.

Muslims Warn Kashmir Hindus Not To Return

92AS1464A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 2 Aug 92 p 7

[Text] Srinagar, Aug. 1—All major militant outfits have warned that Kashmiri Hindus, who fled from Kashmir with the eruption of armed militancy in January 1990, will "face grave consequences" should they return to the State. This was said in a joint statement, issued by the Hizbul Mujahideen, Al-Omar Mujahideen, the Muslim Brotherhood, Al-Jahad and Hizbullah, all Pro-Pakistan insurgent groups. The pro-independence Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) has already disallowed the return of Kashmiri Hindus, "unless they spell out their stand on the ongoing freedom struggle in Kashmir," a statement issued here last week said.

The five-group statement issued here today described the migrant Kashmiri Hindus as "having identified themselves with an extremist Hindu organization, the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] and working against the freedom movement outside Kashmir." The Hizbul Mujahideen military adviser, Abdul Majeed Dar, said to this correspondent on Tuesday, "We have information that most of the Kashmiri Hindus have received arms training and have also been enrolled in the Intelligence Bureau. Their return can be harmful for our movement. Hence, they cannot be allowed back."

About 150,000 Kashmiri-speaking Hindus, locally called pandits for their being upper caste Brahmins, fled from Kashmir in early 1990. They are now living in temporary camps in Jammu and Delhi and have also settled in other parts of the country. However, about 20,000 stayed back and were not harmed by the militants. They are mostly farmers from rural Kashmir.

The massive exodus of Kashmiri Hindus took place after the assassination of some prominent Kashmiri Hindus by the militants, including the director of the television centre, Lassa Kaul, a BJP activist, Tikalal Tiploo, a former magistrate, Nilkanth Ganjoo and a writer, Asrvanand Premi. In all, about 150 Hindus were killed by the militants during the last three years.

According to official sources, 800 houses belonging to Hindus were burnt down by unknown people during this period, across the Kashmir Valley.

Banking Control, Rajya Sabha Proceedings Viewed

92AS1494C Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 12 Aug 92 p 10

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 11. The Government has no proposal to ask the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) to audit the accounts of banks and financial institutions, the Rajya Sabha was informed.

"We have no such proposals," Mr. Dalbir Singh, the Minister of State for Finance, told Mr. Dipen Ghosh and

others during question hour when they wanted to know if government considered such a thing in view of the recent securities scam.

Bank frauds are on the rise because auditing is not done properly, Mr. Gurudas Gupta, CPI [Communist party of India], said and was supported by other opposition members.

Mr. Dalbir Singh denied the allegation that auditing was not taking place properly.

A Congress member, Mr. R.R. Sahu said if one looked at the auditing in banks it was too scanty. Probably the banks were taking cover under the secrecy clause. Banks should have a more transparent accounting system before the public, he said.

Another Congress member, Dr. Shrikant Ramachandra Jichkar who put the main question, asked if government was prepared to consider providing statutorily an auditor member on the Board of Directors of banks and financial institutions.

In reply to another question relating to Boards of Directors of banks and financial institutions, the Minister said the government had no specific provision at present for appointment auditor-members.

He told Dr. S.R. Jichkar that the government would study the Freeway Report of the United States with regard to fraudulent transactions referred to by the member. But he admitted he was not aware of any such report.

Persons qualified as chartered accountants can be considered as non-official Directors of banks at present, Mr. Singh said.

Govt. Films on Star TV

The Tourism and Civil Aviation Minister, Mr. Madhav Rao Scindia told the Rajya Sabha on Tuesday that a proposal to telecast a few promotional films through Star TV to attract foreign tourists was under consideration.

Mr. Scindia told Mr. Viren J. Shah in a written answer, that the Star TV network covered 30 countries in South-east Asia, Asia and the Middle East, all of which were potential tourist generating markets.

In reply to another question, the Minister told Dr. Bapu Kaldate that the India Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC) had already launched a summer package at uniform competitive prices for three years from 1992 in Europe and the United States.

Power Generation

The country generated 286 billion units of electricity during 1991-92, more than the target of 283 billion units, the Rajya Sabha was told on Tuesday.

The Minister of State for Power, Mr. Kalpanath Rai, told Mr. G.G. Solanki during question hour that in previous

years power generation was less than the target. Giving a breakup, he said thermal generation was 200 billion units against the target of 211 billion units, nuclear 5.585 billion units against the target of 6.850 billion units, hydro 72 billion units against the targeted 64 billion units during the period.

Performance of thermal generating units depends upon age of the unit, quality of coal, system loading conditions, hydro thermal mix in the State regional, planned maintenance and forced outage of units and transmission constraints, he said.

IA Loss Rs. 1045 Cr. Due to Strikes

The Indian Airlines [IA] suffered an estimated loss of Rs [Rupees] 10.45 crore between 1990-91 and 1992-93 (up to July 1992) owing to a strike by its employees and an agitation by air traffic controllers of the National Airport Authority, the Rajya Sabha was informed.

Mr. Madhav Rao Scindia, Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism said in a written reply to Mr. M.C. Bhandare, that IA suffered a loss of Rs. 4.97 crore in the first seven months of the current financial year.

Revision of wages for Indian Airlines and Air India employees: Mr. Scindia said that revision of wages and allowances for employees of Indian Airlines (IA) and Air India (AI) for a period of five years from September 1, 1990 had been referred to the National Industrial Tribunal.

Additional posts would be created to improve promotional prospects for traffic controllers in accordance with the findings of the National Airports Authority regarding demands of the air traffic controllers, Mr. Scindia added.

STD [Subscriber Trunk Dialing (telephone)] Services

STD services would be provided to all the pending district, subdivisional and tehsil headquarters and all tourist industrial and pilgrim centres during the 8th plan, Deputy Minister for Communication, Mr. P.V. Rangaiyya Naidu informed the Rajya Sabha on Tuesday.

He said that according to available information, there were 417 manual telephone exchanges in the country as on April 1, 1992. These would be replaced by automatic telephone exchanges under the modernisation plan of the telecom network.

The likely expenditure on the scheme was Rs. 246 crore and the automation work was to be completed by March 1994.

The Minister told Mr. P. Upendra that the government had decided to invite tenders for radio paging services in 27 urban areas in the country for which 83 bids were received.

Bank Interest

The Minister of State for Finance, Mr. Dalbir Singh told the Rajya Sabha that the Reserve Bank of India [RBI] feels that the current lending rate structure is appropriate but banks should adopt an objective and rational criteria for deciding the range of rate between the minimum lending rate and the actual rates charged.

The Minister told Mr. Ajit Jogi during question hour that the growth of the economy and the rate of interest are examined to determine the rate of interest for lending to industries.

He told Mr. Chotubhai Patel that the government was watching whether the present inflation rate at just over nine percent remained stable.

He said for term loans to agriculture, small-scale industries and transport operators owning up to two vehicles, the rates on bank loans over Rs 25,000 to Rs two lakhs was fifteen percent.

Foreign Bank's Profit Rs. 204.04 Cr.

The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has reported that so far only 20 foreign banks have finalised their accounts for year ending March 1992, Minister of State for Finance, Mr. Dalbir Singh informed the Rajya Sabha on Tuesday.

The net profits of 20 foreign banks for year ended March 1991 and 1992 stood at Rs 204.04 crore and Rs 515.37 crore, respectively.

The total profits of 24 foreign banks in 1991 aggregated to Rs 233.01 crore. The increase in net profit on sale of investments, transactions in foreign exchange and increased interest earnings.

In another written answer, the Minister said the RBI has reported that the Omen International Bank did not extend any facilities advances of Rs. 50 crore to Mr. Haresh K. Dalal and a few others.

Andhra Pradesh: Chief Minister Urged To Resign 92AS1494B Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in English 12 Aug 92 p 9

[Text] Hyderabad, Aug 11—Dissidence in the Congress party over the government's decision to allow private medical colleges seems to be gaining ground with the former Health Minister, Mr. A. Madan Mohan, demanding the Chief Minister, Mr. N. Janardhan Reddy, to step down.

In a strongly-worded two-page statement, the former minister, went hammer and tongs against the style of functioning of Mr. Janardhan Reddy. He said such short-sighted decisions had given handle to the Opposition to derive political mileage.

Without mincing words he said: "The dissatisfaction of the people at the various measures which have hit the people hard such as the hike in price of rice supplied to

white card holders, the modification of the agricultural power tariff and the hike in milk price has now found a focal point in the unheard step of the Chief Minister permitting opening of medical and dental colleges by the so-called education societies, which were not known to many."

The former minister, who had also served as the chairman of the AP Industrial Development Corporation, said the students who had always been in the forefront in all popular agitations, had taken the lead and the people who were waiting for such an opportunity are eagerly lending their support. "With every passing day, the agitation is acquiring a mass character and is spreading to all parts of the State," he added.

To justify his resentment against the Chief Minister, the senior Congress leader said: "It is not the prestige of Mr. Janardhan Reddy that is at stake, but that of the party itself. The Opposition has taken the opportunity to malign the image of the party."

Mr. Madan Mohan felt that the partymen could no longer remain silent spectators but should raise their voice against the unjust and inequitable policies of the government headed by Mr. Janardhan Reddy.

He felt it was the duty of State and Central leaders to bring pressure on the Chief Minister to honourably step down from office, before it becomes impossible to salvage the image of the party in the State. He also appealed to the Chief Minister to understand the gravity of the situation into which he had landed himself and said that the party too should take necessary steps to overcome the situation.

Mr. Madan Mohan has also reminded the Chief Minister about the supreme sacrifice of former chief ministers who by relinquishing their posts had made it possible for their successors to redeem the situation.

"I hope and trust the Chief Minister would rise to the occasion and emulate his predecessors," he said adding: "It would be more graceful for him to voluntarily quit before the people's anger compels him to resign."

Jharkhand Movement Said Prone to Schism

92AS1439A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 3 Aug 92
p 6

[Article by Vinod Kumar: "Contradictions Arise Amongst the Jharkhandis"]

[Text] The unofficial division of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) has occurred. Two legislators—Rajkishore Mehto and Karishan Mardi—along with another nine Vidhan Sabha members did not vote for the JMM candidate Subodh Kant Sahay for the Rajya Sabha but opposed the party decision and voted for the National Front candidate, Swail. Suraj Mandal, vice president of the JMM, warned that disciplinary action might be taken against these legislators. The disciplinary

action could be taken either in a couple of days or both parties can wait until the 9 August working committee meeting in Jamshedpur. The two-month deadline given by Lalu Yadav will be over before that, and the state government's announcement that it would take back its support will make the division official. Since the confrontation is between equals this time, both sides are trying to become stronger before the division. On one side are legislators Rajkishor Mehto and Karishna Mardi along with 9 other legislators, and on the other side are ten legislators including Shibu Soren and Suraj Mandal. Legislators Shailendar Mehto and Simon Marandi are with Suraj Mandal now, but can switch sides at any time.

On the outside, Subodh Kant Sahay appears to be the cause of this dispute. Admitting Subodh Kant into the JMM from the Janata Party and then giving him a ticket for Rajya Sabha suddenly caused this breakup. It is also being said that Chief Minister Lalu Yadav created the discord when he failed to run the JMM according to his wishes. Both are true. However, it is not true that all the fights that are occurring within the JMM are Lalu Yadav's doing; they are JMM's own doings, and have been with the JMM ever since its inception. Sometimes it has been off, sometimes it has been on, and sometimes it has been active. When the JMM is campaigning, this internal strife disappears. However, whenever the JMM begins to roam in the corridors of power, this internal strife emerges with force. The disagreement between the Sadans and the local aborigines causes the strife. The JMM created during the late 1960's that campaigned strongly did not have these internal differences. However, after the crisis was over, Shibu Soren started the dissension with his progovernment politics and collaboration with the Congress (I). The JMM united when the campaign took on momentum in 1987. Now that the JMM campaign is faltering and the disagreement between the aborigines and the Sadans is on the rise, the JMM will divide once again. The Sadans lost their leader when Vinod Bihari Mehto died. They have a new leader in the form of Rajkishore Mehto. The confrontation within the JMM now appears to be between Suraj Mandal and Krishna Mardi. They are leading their factions in such a way that the newspapers have labeled their factions Mandal and Mardi. However, these two are the commanders-in-chief. The real battle is between Shibu Soren and Rajkishore Mehto. Seeing Krishna Mardi opposing Shibu Soren and Shailendar Mehto supporting Shibu Soren confuses people. Perhaps, the reason for this is that Krishna Mardi has no position in the Shibu faction. His position is below Suraj Mandal. However, if he joins forces with Rajkishore Mehto, his position will be equivalent to Suraj Mandal's position in Shibu Soren's faction.

As for Shailendar Mehto, he always has been a spineless leader. Even after holding the important position of party secretary general, he never was very important. Even though he strongly opposes Suraj Mandal, Shailendar Mehto stays with Mandal, waiting to see which way the wind will blow.

The confrontation between the aborigines and the Sadans in the JMM is old. The Sadans have been living here for hundreds of years just like the aborigines. However, most of their culture, civilization, life style, and beliefs are very different from the aborigines. Their socioeconomic condition also has been weaker compared to the aborigines. The landowners in Singhbhum could be called Sadans, and Kurmis [farmer caste], blacksmiths, oil merchants, barbers, and potters in northern Chota Nagpur. The Koyaris of northern Bihar are called Kurmis in southern Bihar. The only difference between the nonaborigine societies and these Sadans is that the Sadans arrived in this region hundreds of years ago and were absorbed into the culture. They started organized farming and making farming implements. Because of their skills and freedom from landownership, they prospered in the aborigines region very rapidly. Compared to the aborigines (except for the Christian aborigines), they are more educated. Their social and economic conditions have improved considerably during the recent period.

The Sadans did not have a separate identity in the Jharkhand campaign until the emergence of Vinod Bihari Mehto. Vinod Mehto united them to strengthen his own political base. In the outside world, the Jharkhand campaign is thought to be an aborigine campaign, and Shibu Soren emerged as the leader of the JMM. However, the fact that Sadans are becoming more powerful in the politics of votes is being recognized gradually. They outnumber the aborigines in Chota Nagpur region.

Views of National Leaders on Ayodhya Crisis

92AS01438A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 3 Aug 92
p 7

[Article by JANSATTA news bureau: "The Cauldron of Faith and Politics"]

[Text] The word, Ayodhya, means a place that cannot be won in war. However, the chaos resulting from the struggle between political institutions and faith over the temple-mosque issue pushes consonance to extremes. After regaining our equilibrium about their commitment, we asked our leaders to resolve this crisis. The prime minister gave a statement in the Lok Sabha on 27 July. On 28 and 29 July, 29 members discussed this issue for eight hours. While this debate is like fresh air, because it shows we have democracy in our country, it also points to the unhealthy helplessness of our politics.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is on one side on this issue and the remaining parties are on the other side. What do some prominent leaders of both sides say about this issue? To learn about it, we are reproducing edited speeches of some of these leaders in the following pages.

Courts Will Decide If Negotiations Fail—Prime Minister Narasimha Rao

I can say without hesitation that there has been a very important, educational, and useful debate over my

speech on the Ayodhya issue given in the Lok Sabha. I have definitely benefited from this debate. This has helped me better understand the issues related to the debate. I will be aware of the issues I should keep in mind while resolving this problem. My precaution will save time. Therefore, I want to repeat that I am indebted to the respected Lok Sabha members for showing the ways to resolve this critical problem.

My speech delivered two days earlier in the House tried to share with you what discussions I had with the representative of the sadhus [holy men] associated with the temple construction in Ayodhya. I had tried to present the gist of my talks with them in a proper manner. I tried to explain to you how I succeeded in doing my duty in stopping the work of the karsewa [religious volunteers]. The path to resolving this crisis would have been blocked if the karsewaks had not stopped their work. I told the sadhus frankly during our talks that my first task was to take over this issue where former Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar left it. I told them that I was looking for the evidence that was presented during the talks arranged by the former government.

One more thing. I am going to establish a cell in the prime minister's office in order to finish all kinds of paperwork related to this problem. I will try to obtain any available document that is related to this subject, so that a comprehensive case can be developed. However, this work will not stop there. It is possible that more documents and evidence are in other places. I want to consider them all. All this is a very complex process and there are deadlines attached to it. I have promised to finish this work in about four months. If an acceptable agreement that is similar to the one proposed in my party's election declaration does not result from these actions and talks, the next step will be to start a judiciary process. I have said that this issue can be given to a judicial tribunal. However, I never told the sadhus during my talks with them that the government will give this case to a special court or a judicial tribunal. I cannot tell anything about it to the House even today. I have no answer to the question whether this case would be given to the Supreme Court. This time has not yet come to make a decision. As for giving directions to a court or a judicial tribunal, I want to make it clear that the government cannot do that. Yes, we will insist that since the case is very sensitive and important, it should be decided as soon as possible. The sadhus had suggested that we insist on it.

The truth is that any litigator has the right to ask the court for a quick settlement of a case. There is nothing wrong with such a request. I believe that the High Court and the Supreme Court understand the importance of this issue; that is why they were hearing testimonies related to this issue during the last few days.

One more thing should be understood. We do not expect any results during the first or second round of mutual talks. Exaggerated demands are made during the first

phase. After that, gradually the situation is resolved by mutual understanding. Now that the members of all parties have expressed their opinions, I have received some directions. All this makes me optimistic that this matter will be resolved within four months. Perhaps, it will take a little less time.

As for the confusion because I am acting on this matter very carefully and slowly, I do not see anything wrong with it. Perhaps, this is a good way. Since it behooves one to work very seriously and take every step carefully when dealing with a delicate issue.

It is important to note that all the cases are related in this matter. If we consider all of these collectively, the matter will be resolved easily. That is what we will try to do. However, before that, we will try to resolve it by negotiations. These talks have already started. Now that I have met with the sadhus, I am meeting with the representative of the Babri Masjid Action Committee. I will also talk with the Islamic religious leaders, so that I can learn about their religious view points. I want to start these talks without making any presumptions. Everyone will have to cooperate in this effort.

The Government Should Go to the Parliament and Make Laws—Lal Karishna Advani

I am happy to know that a confrontation has been postponed; however, I am distressed at the fact that a confrontational situation was created. I blame the government for it. After all, this government has been in power for one year.

Will not the country get the message that the government will not take any action until a situation is ready to explode? I want to congratulate the UP [Uttar Pradesh] Government gave assurance that it would follow the law, not ignore the court order, and at the same time, not forget the mandate given to it by the people. It stood by its promise.

If any progress was made in the past, it was made because of Chandra Shekhar's efforts. There are two aspects of this progress. Each side held opposite beliefs. Chandra Shekhar brought The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Babri Masjid Action Committee to the table, had them negotiate continuously, told them to write down and document their viewpoints with the help of experts, and had these documents presented, all of which was followed by an exchange of views, therefore, giving everyone the right to comment and object to the contents of these documents.

I do not want to get into a debate here. However, one side said in its documents that Rama was not born in Ayodhya but in Afghanistan. Another document said that Rama was born in Nepal. A third paper conveyed that Rama was born in Egypt. Mr. Prime Minister, I have read your statement. I understand that you are going to take over from where Chandra Shekhar left this matter. We cannot object to that. However, afterwards you said, "If necessary, we will send all related cases

pending in various courts to a special court authority so that these cases can be decided, and the decisions made will be binding on all parties. This will require extensive action at the government level. The courts will be asked [sentence as published]. I believe that all this can be done at the government level within four months. I agree on this point." When the sadhus had visited you and returned again, there were talks then too. I invited a mahant [high priest] and asked him about the talks. He said, "We agreed with it."

I am not saying all this because of my beliefs; I have a report from Mr. Bommai. The report includes a decision made by the Allahabad High Court on 7 November 1989. The last sentence of this Allahabad High Court decision reads, "There are doubts that some issues involved in this case can be resolved through the judicial process." There are many issues that the Court itself says cannot be resolved through the legal process. Fighting cases in court will not resolve this matter.

A lawyer practicing in the Supreme Court here told me the day before yesterday that the Allahabad High Court has called all the witnesses from the related pending cases. If those witnesses are called to the Supreme Court and a bench of the Supreme Court hears those witnesses daily from morning to evening, then it will take at least two or three years to make a decision on this case. Many other issues would be added during this period. The Prime Minister's purpose in writing that is surprising. First, he did not discuss it with the sadhus. The only issue he discussed with the sadhus was that he will take the issue over from the point where Chandra Shekhar left it. Your party was supporting Chandra Shekhar and his government at that time. I am glad that Chandra Shekhar had written down the action he had taken. He had written that there is a need for information about one subject. Was there ever a temple on the site now known as Rama's birthplace and where there is now a mosque structure? He had one point and that was to give this land to the Hindus to build their temple. He had started the talks about establishing this point and the Babri Masjid Action Committee members had come to talk after accepting this point.

The court cannot decide whether Rama was born here or not, therefore, it is inappropriate to ask it. Mr. Mani Shanker Ayyar asks, "If you take a vow to uphold the Constitution, and there is a conflict wherein you are asked to do something contrary to the Constitution, what would you do?" I want to say that I and my party have unique and unquestionable allegiance to the Constitution. We can ask someone, "You are loyal to the Communist Party and you are also loyal to the Constitution. What will you do if there is a conflict between the two?" Of course, loyalty to the Constitution is above all others. However, what kind of impression are we giving to the people by asking this question and who will benefit from it?

We are accused again for ignoring court orders and of contempt of court even though we started the campaign

against the Babri Action Committee, which was established against court orders. I agree with the people who say that, if a government disobeys court orders, then the UP government would also do that. I believe that it will not disobey a court order. However, I want to warn you that Mr. V.P. Singh's description of the current national mood is very accurate. He has talked about the minorities. I say that we should worry about the whole nation and not limit his description to the minorities only.

The state government said that law and order problems will be caused if we tell them that a mosque was built illegally and without permission from the city corporation in Calcutta and that the High Court ordered that the additional structure be torn down. I am not blaming them, they have their rights. They have the right to tell the government that a difficult law and order situation could happen, and the High Court let them go. If the whole country learns about it, they will say, fine, you did not follow the High Court order and let it go. We shall see what effect this will have?

You are complaining that the government has not seized [the disputed property]. You have reached the point of apathy. It did not seize [the property] because it knew that the UP government was trying to prove ownership. They are worried that if they seize it, they may have to repeat Operation Bluestar, and they do not want to do that. They were smart in doing that. The UP government told me that I should tell them to seize [the property] because it would help them [UP], but I did not think it was the right thing to do. After all, a government has responsibility, and the UP government should do its job.

There is no minaret there and no one has gone there to worship Allah.

I complain that the speeches that are made here, the propaganda that is carried out all over the country, and the propaganda that is spread by the government show that this is a dispute over [building] a temple or a mosque. The people who support making a temple are people of a Hindu nation and they want to tear down this temple-mosque structure and build a temple there. [They say that] this would have a negative effect all over the world. Any court order would be a wrong court order. For 40 years, no one prayed to Allah there because of a court order.

There is one way to resolve this issue. We should take up from where Rajiv Gandhi and Chandra Shekhar left it and use Article 143. According to Article 143, the president has the right to consult with the Supreme Court. He can give this question to the Court and the Court will give its opinions to the president after hearing all evidence and deliberating on it.

Talks cannot succeed at this stage and there is no other option for us. The government should present to Parliament whatever it thinks is appropriate and show references on which the decision is based. The prime minister

should make progress in this direction. I want to assure him of the full cooperation of myself, my party, and my associates.

But for Mandal, This Issue Would Have Been Resolved—Vishwanath Pratap Singh

The events of one fortnight have shaken us up, and perhaps our fundamental beliefs are also shaken up. It does not matter, whether it is the judicial, executive, or legislative branch [all are effected]. We have debated a lot, and will have the opportunity for it in the future, however, the important thing is the choice of strategy that we make today.

This Rama Janambhumi-Babri Masjid issue is both a destructive fire and nectar. If it is not resolved, it is like fire that will burn down our country. If it is resolved, then it is like nectar. This country must survive, and survive it will. Therefore, we have no alternative but to produce nectar. I believe that the people and the members in the House possess the sagacity, courage, and prudence that is necessary to find the way.

I know that the prime minister cannot agree with everything, but he has to agree with some of the things. Mr. Dixit is here. He visited the sadhus and told them that he has taken over the issue and asked them to go to the House and ask them to settle the issue within three months. Now they say that your statement has not resolved this issue; instead, it has just changed it. Why has the agreement between the sadhus and you changed within two days? We are puzzled and wonder what will happen in the future? The sadhus say that nothing was discussed with them about the court, and you are hinting about a court authority in your statement here and are telling us that there will be a judicial authority. Perhaps, you cannot explain this all; however, we are seeing some difference in our understanding. You should make arrangements for them to talk with each other. Arrangements should be made for talks on neutral grounds. That will satisfy us all.

We suggest that a comprehensive [study] be conducted again. We also have dharam gurus [Hindu religious scholars]. I believe that our dharam gurus will also have a positive attitude just like our ulema [Muslim religious scholars.] I am sure that you will include the ulema in these talks.

The resolution of the NIC [National Integration Council] is a boon. It would be a good idea for the House to approve the NIC resolution that was passed unanimously.

There was propaganda about building the temple in Ayodhya during the last elections also. However, 80 percent voted that the mosque should not be torn down. This is not just our opinion, but of the whole nation. What should be the final decision? I do not want to say anything about it now. We have made the decision with faith; we also have to let the court make the decision. We have to do it all with mutual goodwill. We must pay

attention to benevolent relations among ourselves until a decision is reached. If such assurance is given, it will result in trust and good atmosphere.

We want to request Mr. Advani and Mr. Atal to be amiable. If the final decision is not made through talks, then it will be made by the court. We believe that the basic differences are being brought to us now. You say that religious and faith issues cannot be decided in courts. You also say that courts have issued many orders but the government has failed to implement them. Managing this country is your responsibility also. Tomorrow, this will be someone else's responsibility and we will all be in difficulty. If we do not make it today's problem, then it will become tomorrow's problem. We are facing the question of administering this country. It is true that faith is final, conscience is also final, and uniqueness is indecision. If one has to run the country and there is conflict between two faiths, then one faith cannot be larger than the other faith. If there is no other way, then the honorable prime minister and all of us have to sit down together and find a way.

We should discuss this issue at the national level. Everyone is responsible for it and our national interest is involved. I believe that we have to find a way within the framework of our Constitution. If there is a flaw in the Constitution, then we must fix that too. If our citizens have a faith in any institution, then it is the courts. It will not help to put a question mark on their faith in the judicial system.

Beware of Your Friends—Somnath Chatterjee

I pray that the prime minister succeeds in reaching an agreement. However, it is hard to say how successful he will be. The people he will talk with will not be open-minded. At one time, it appeared that the government was purposely not doing anything. Construction work was allowed to continue for 18-19 days and the prime minister did not show any reaction.

However, I am happy that the work has stopped and there is peace now. However, it was said in the beginning that the UP government had seized that property to build a tourist hotel. Then why was a nongovernment organization given the permission to build at that site? How did the VHP, Bajrang Dal, and the BJP manage to ignore the court order and take over that place? No one answers these questions.

The goal here was for a democratic government to use the people for its own purpose in order to break the court order. Gumanmal Lodha was trying to prove this fact in his speech by telling us how court orders were ignored and in which places and when. I would like the prime minister to think whether the question is temple versus mosque or temple and mosque. We are waiting for Lal Karishna Advani's opinion. The only question is of keeping peace, goodwill, unity, and national integrity. However, this is not their goal. One Acharaya Dharamendra among these sadhus declared that the Constitution, laws, rules, and court orders that are made by man

have no authority around Rama's birthplace. He said that Rama's law will rule there and the Hindus will decide on that. Similarly, the honorable legislator from Faizabad has said, "We do not care for any law or court order. Rama is the power for us." No one contradicted him. This is a very dangerous principle.

Is this open-mindedness? I am asking this question again. Mr. Prime Minister, what discussions can you have? I believe that you will not be able to have any talks about it. Will you discuss whether there will be a mosque or a temple? Please make it clear to me. The question is not whether there will be a mosque. The question is how will they build anything keeping the mosque intact. I am advising the prime minister to be careful of his friends. Also be careful of the friends who are sitting in front of you (points to the BJP benches), and those who are sitting behind you (Congress members). How will these people use you? Neither you nor anyone else knows that!

We Are With You If You Respect People's Faith—Sawami Chinmyanand

I want to congratulate all those sadhus who are cooperating with the government to protect the honor of Rama's temple as well as the honor of the temples of laws.

It was the Ayodhya issue that forced change of governments during the last three years. Anyone who heads the government must make it his priority. The president said in his speech in July 1991 that he would give serious attention to solving this problem. One year passed, however, and the central government did not take any initiative. I made an appointment with the prime minister in May and met with him on 9 May along with the sadhus that he was forced to invite. The honorable prime minister told those sadhus the same thing he told them again two months later. The prime minister had two months to think about it. If he wished, he could have started talks in July 1991 at the point where Chandra Shekhar had left them. We would have been close to an agreement by now.

I believe that if we do not have pride in our culture, then the nation has nothing else to be proud of. Khajuraho, Konarka, and Ajanta are the reminders of that culture. The stones are singing the music produced by faith in that culture. The culture of this country flows like the Ganges and it will never be destroyed. It accepts the challenge of time and will continue crossing mountains. No obstacle will stop it.

Our thousand-year slavery did not reduce our pride in our cultural heritage. Our Mira [poetess] said during those days of slavery, "I have Girdhar Gopal [Karishna], and no one else." She was not willing to accept dominance by Emperor Akbar. During the same period of slavery, Tulsidas [poet] said, "You cannot be happy even in your dreams when you are a slave." He was declaring his independence. During that slavery period, there were no walls of caste because Ravidas gave religious instruction to Princess Mira. When there are huge walls, they

have cracks in them. We go for the brightness of the moon, and not for the spots in it. We will be definitely disappointed if we try to catch the spots. There should be no question mark over our cultural pride.

Our sacred pilgrimages come in the context of our culture. We are emotionally attached to these pilgrimages. All efforts made for national unity are less effective than these pilgrimage places. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said during the 1954 Eclipse festival at Allahabad, "The work that the Eclipse festival is doing for national unity cannot be equaled by any other effort or method in the world." Cannot we understand that millions of people go to the Eclipse festival from all over the country. They live in huts and take roasted flour to eat and live on the bank of the Ganges. I say you can call all those people stupid, but my head bows in respect for them. This includes you and your parents and grandparents. Our cultural traditions have kept our nation united. Ayodhya is a symbol of those cultural traditions. The faith of our country is tied to Ayodhya. Ayodhya is sacred for no other reason than Lord Rama was born there. Since Rama was born there, we definitely have to look for his birthplace there. If someone tells us that Rama was not born there, then we will change the place. We respected the court. Can I ask a question of the honorable members sitting in the House? The Allahabad High Court had given orders on 30 October and 2 November and given the permission for bathing in the Sarju River and worshipping in the Ayodhya temple on the full moon day. Why were these rights crushed under the police boots? Our respected Raja Sahib [V.P. Singh] should have considered resigning when court orders were ignored by the police during the regime of his chief minister. A few days later, the Janata Dal leaders felt that they should not support such a man, and left him. When they left him, he joined the Congress Party and asked it to go along with him. These people have gone along with us, and now they want to hang us for neglecting court orders! The UP government has always tried to obey court orders. However, it did not have to deal with obeying court orders only, it had to deal with keeping peace and order in the whole country. I can declare that when your government (Mulayam Singh Yadav) was disobeying courts orders, there were curfew orders in 36 districts of the state. During Kalayan Singh's administration, law and order was not affected in the state while blocks in the path of temple construction were being removed. The whole region was peaceful.

A judicial tribunal cannot make decisions in four years, much less in four months. Therefore, you must decide on what basis the decision will be made. The Ganges and the sun will never ask directions from the Constitution. The faith of our people in gods and goddesses is not determined by the Constitution. There are religious books for that purpose. Be it Muslim books for the Islamic faith or Christian books for their faith, or Hindu books for the Hindu faith, the main issue is of faith. We know that our religious books will be the foundation of our faiths, and the Constitution cannot define it for us.

The option of having talks appears to be more appropriate. You should have told us and explained to us in your statement, just like esteemed Chandra Shekhar had told us, that when so many people sit they will discuss all these documents.

Articles View Dispute Over Building Temple in Ayodhya

Consensus Must Be Reached

92AS1432A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 2 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Vijay Narayan: "In the End: There Will Be a Compulsion To Seek a Consensus of the People"]

[Text] It does not matter what the members of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) say, the mandir construction politics are not under their control any more. It is now controlled by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. When Mr. Rao announced in Parliament in the presence of BJP members that he has not given any assurance to holy men about the construction of the temple in Ayodhya, it was clear that the BJP and the VHP had sent the holy men to see Narasimha Rao so they could get out of the mess they were in.

The BJP and the VHP got themselves into this predicament. The present parliament session began on 8 July and the matter of building Rama's temple was raised on 9 July. Even though this no-confidence motion was introduced jointly by almost all the opposition parties, Narasimha Rao was not worried. The BJP had hoped that Narasimha Rao would ask for its help over the no-confidence motion and would make some deal over the temple construction issue in exchange. Another development working for the BJP at that time was the presidential election. Because one president was leaving and another coming in, the BJP did not have any worry about the UP [Uttar Pradesh] government being dismissed. In such a situation, it was natural for the Narasimha Rao government to come under BJP pressure. However, Narasimha Rao demonstrated his smarts here. He did not let the fight come to his corner, but moved it to the Supreme Court. There were verbal fights in Parliament and influential Congress (I) members as well as the National Front and left-wing members demanded strict action against the BJP government in UP. However, Narasimha Rao left everything to the Court.

It appears that when the BJP and the VHP decided to pressure the central government, they not only forgot that the court was considering the temple issue but also that the Allahabad High Court had restricted any building activity in the temple area since October 1991. The construction work started on 9 July was against the Allahabad High Court orders. The BJP perhaps also forgot that the UP government had promised the court in October 1991 that it would not build in the disputed area. When temple construction began, this promise

became a problem for the UP government. The UP government avoided responding to the High Court's notices; instead it finally said that only a platform rather than a permanent structure was being built.

It is a fatal action for any government or political party to tell the people that the temple is being built and the court that no permanent structure is being erected. This double standard does not work in a democratic system and the BJP is entrapped in its own contradictory statements. The BJP worries increased with the increasing pressure by the Court. The situation looked bad since the UP government was not complying with the court orders, leading to a direct confrontation between the government and the courts. In such a situation the constitution and laws become meaningless.

The VHP members also made similar comments about the courts. They said that the courts cannot make decisions on issues such as Rama's birthplace and temple construction. The VHP stand is full of contradictions because the VHP also supports court involvement. It should either stop talking about going to the courts or stop challenging its decisions.

Perhaps the BJP ignored the importance of the courts even when it announced in its election declaration its decision to build the temple. The constitution and the laws that are being implemented in our country were written by our people and the legislators, the courts have to follow these. Therefore, challenging the courts again and again is childish. The BJP people also forgot that the Congress (I) had also talked in its election promises about building Rama's temple. The BJP decided to take the initiative to build the temple. The Congress (I) was waiting for its turn, and now it is in the hands of the Congress (I) government.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has neither set a definite date to resolve the temple-mosque issue, nor has he set any limitations on strategies. He did tell the group of holy men that the decision will be made within four months. The holy men want a decision within three months. Narasimha Rao has also mentioned establishing a court tribunal, whose decisions will be binding, to make decisions on all such issues. This proposal worries the BJP and it possibly will not agree. What will happen if the decision made by the court commission is not acceptable to all involved? This dispute will be stuck in various courts like in the past and, perhaps indefinitely. No political party can ignore the courts regardless of their promises and debates held in this politics of votes. The other alternative is to have a referendum. When everyone involved gets tired, the people will force them to gather on one platform for an agreement.

Reprieve May Be Temporary

92AS1432B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 2 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Hari Datta Pathak: "There Is a Reprieve for Now"]

[Text] India's three branches of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—had reached a very tense situation over Ayodhya's temple-mosque issue, bringing the nation to the brink of a catastrophe. The Supreme Court showed its political savvy and took effective steps to rectify the situation.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao demonstrated unique composure in this volatile situation and was successful in adopting a physician-like strict attitude to have the executive and the judicial branches work together.

The nation's highest legislative body, Parliament, was in the worst situation. The Indian Parliament has not only reached the lowest and most embarrassing point in doing its job, but also it is at the point of humiliation. The representatives of the people are responsible for lowering Parliament to this level of inefficiency.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], the Bajrang Dal, and a group of holy men are trying to build Rama's temple at Ayodhya, despite the stay order issued by the Allahabad High Court. The UP [Uttar Pradesh] and the central government are ready to clash over the issue of volunteers. The atmosphere of threats and counterthreats from both sides made Parliament fully complacent and the situation was so serious that the Center could neither talk with the religious volunteers nor with the state government. The Congress (I), the National Front and the left-wing forces, and the BJP all made the Babri mosque-Rama temple issue an election weapon. They started with verbal fights and paved the way for physical confrontations. The Karsewa (volunteers) were not willing to stop and the central government considered dismissing the UP government.

On 22 July, the Supreme Court commented that if the UP government stopped construction around the disputed property, the Court would convene a special meeting to discuss the legitimacy of land ownership and the appropriateness of building Rama's temple there. The Court would make a decision after gathering information and working round the clock.

The Supreme Court's announcement to make a prompt decision brought the Karsewa people and central government together for talks. Prime Minister Rao used the Supreme Court administration with courage, cleverness, and wisdom, and invited the prominent leaders of the VHP and Karsewaks to New Delhi in a government airplane. The prime minister had very beneficial talks with them.

As for the structure of the temple-mosque, the UP government announced that this building would be fully guarded. The BJP leadership said that the Supreme Court has now assured them that, after 45 years, a decision at last will be made. This has helped cool BJP's anger. The present question is of mutual trust, which can be established by talks among the connected groups.

The Allahabad High Court issued an order to stop construction on the 2.77-acre disputed land. However, the Karsewa groups continued construction in defiance of the Court order. Although the UP government had made continuous promises to build the temple, it changed its stand. The Kalyan Singh government said that his government had nothing to do with the construction. The government is trying to convince the groups to stop construction, as per the court order, but it has not been successful so far. The Kalyan Singh government has also made it clear that it will avoid bloodshed by not using force to resolve this emotional issue.

Chief Minister Kalyan Singh has shrewdly thrown the ball into the court of the prime minister and the home minister by asking them to use their influence to convince the holy men to stop the construction. He has also cautioned the Center to avoid a confrontation in Uttar Pradesh.

The Supreme Court initiative, the prime minister's composure and smart strategy, and the prudence of the holy men have postponed this crisis for now. They decided in goodwill that the Supreme Court should decide. However, the Center must bring together all the groups in order to find an acceptable solution. The prime minister has given some assurance. Let us see how much progress is made in resolving this issue.

Rao Exhibiting Great Leadership

92AS1432C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 31 Jul 92 p 4

[Editorial: "A Solution to the Problem That Is Acceptable to All"]

[Text] Prime Minister Narasimha Rao hinted in his much-anticipated speech to Parliament that the whole Ayodhya issue would be settled by the Supreme Court. The decision of the special tribunal will be binding. Before the tribunal the prime minister will talk with the leaders of all the political groups in an effort to find the most acceptable solution. In his seven-minute speech the prime minister also commented on those conditions that forced him to negotiate with the holy men in order to stop the crisis. The UP government has expressed willingness to implement the court decision, but was not able to convince the holy men to stop the construction work. At the same time the chief minister also said that it is not appropriate to shoot at the holy men. However, the prime minister was successful in postponing the explosive situation, and asked for four months to find a mutually acceptable solution to the issue. He will try to do so by talking to the leaders of all major groups. Otherwise, the whole affair will be given to a special tribunal of the Supreme Court. Parliament welcomed the prime minister's speech, and almost everyone agreed to cooperate to resolve this issue.

The Ayodhya issue was brought to the attention of two former prime ministers—V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar. The V.P. Singh government created an explosive and acrimonious national issue; Chandra Shekhar

started negotiations among the connected groups as soon he was elected. He may not have succeeded in solving it, but he did succeed in calming the people's anger and dissatisfaction. Both of these former prime ministers made it clear that they were not opposed to building Rama's temple. They also supported keeping the disputed structure. These are the two major causes of the Ayodhya dispute. Recent emotions also point to these two causes. The construction work started by the VHP and the holy men has been suspended, and they are building Lakshmana's temple on another site. Not only Parliament but the whole nation welcomes the prime minister's success, through his insightful discussions, in implementing the court orders, and, thereby postponing a crisis.

The prime minister is using politics to reach consensus. He knows well that his government is not a majority government. For almost one week nothing was accomplished in Parliament because of the clamor raised by the opposition parties. Many fears were expressed at this difficult time. One option was to dismiss the UP government and impose presidential rule there. The central government would also have had to give orders to fire at saints and holy men. All preparations were made. One group of the Congress (I) also wanted to take strict action on this situation. All that was left was to give the green flag to Home Minister Chavan to implement his emergency plans. Platoons of the Central National Guard were already stationed near Ayodhya and a large number of National Guard soldiers were stationed in surrounding towns. By stopping such a volatile situation, which could have enveloped the whole country, the prime minister has demonstrated his extraordinary political ability and expertise. By controlling the main cause of the crisis, he has shown that he is capable of using prudence and deliberation to stop unrest and prevent a crisis.

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Splits in Two

92AS1515A New Delhi *INDIAN EXPRESS in English*
10 Aug 92 p 1

[Text] Jamshedpur—The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) vertically split into two parties the JMM (Soren) and the JMM (Mardi)—after Mr. Shibu Soren announced the dissolution of the central committee of the party in its meeting here on Sunday.

The meeting of the JMM's central committee which was held here on Sunday afternoon was attended by 110 out of 125 members, including six MPs [members of Parliament] and 19 MLAs [members of Legislative Assembly]. "Mr. Soren announced the dissolution of the central committee after all efforts to bring about rapprochement between the two warring groups failed," informed an independent partyman preferring anonymity.

Later, addressing a press conference, Mr. Soren said that the partymen had unanimously decided to expel two MPs and eight MLAs of the party on grounds of "anti-party activities."

Mr. Soren claimed that the split in the party will not adversely affect the "fate of Jharkhand movement."

On the other hand, Mr. Krishna Mardi, leader of the breakaway group of the JMM, in a press conference, said that his group consisting of two MPs and nine MLAs has parted company with the "opportunists" and "pro-Congress Jharkhandis."

Mr. Mardi announced the names of the office-bearers with himself as president, Mr. Rajkishore Mahto as its general secretary and Dr. Sabba Ahmed as its vice-president.

Mr. Mardi said that his party would support the Janada Dal Government in Bihar and the National Front at the national level.

BJP Urges 'Ethics Committee' Probe Into Dal Splits

92AS1494D Secunderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE in English* 12 Aug 92 p 10

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 11. The recent developments in the Janata Dal [JD] and the alleged role of money in the attempts to split the party were sought to be raised in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday, when the Janata Dal and BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] members urged the Speaker, Mr. Shivraj Patil, to constitute an "ethics committee" to evolve a code of conduct for the members.

The Speaker, who refused permission to Mr. George Fernandes to raise the issue of split in the Janata Dal, assured the House that he would consult the leaders of all parties on forming the committee.

About allowing the matter of developments in the Janata Dal, the Speaker said he would discuss it in the Business Advisory Committee [BAC] and if the BAC fixes some time, he would allow a discussion on the notice given by Mr. Fernandes.

Mr. Fernandes tried to raise the issue during zero hour, saying that he had given notice for discussion on the recent developments in the Janata Dal. Quoting from rules, the speaker said the notice should be under some rule. The Speaker also pointed out that in the notice, Mr. Fernandes made certain defamatory remarks against some members and hence the rules would not permit the matter to be raised. Also under the rules, the members could raise any issue which has a relation to the Government of India. The Speaker, however, said he would place Mr. Fernandes' notice before BAC for a decision.

When Mr. Fernandes said that he had not made any allegation against any individual, but only referred to what was happening around the House, the Speaker pointed out that if he allowed the member to raise the issue, some other members might contest what he says and there would be a controversy.

The leader of Opposition, Mr. L.K. Advani, stated that the country had now reached a situation wherein there

was a general impression that money was playing a role in the behavior of members. Therefore, he wanted the Speaker to consider whether a committee could be set up to look into the ethical aspects relating to members.

Mr. Fernandes, Mr. Mohan Singh and Mr. Nitish Kumar (all JD) supported the proposal for an ethics committee.

Mr. Suryanarayana Yadav and Mr. Rajnat Sonkar Sasstry, members of the break-away JD, also supported the idea of an ethics committee, but said that all incidents of floor crossing that took place earlier also should be gone into by the committee. Mr. Yadav said that the happenings in Bihar, where the JD was making efforts to split the Congress-I and the BJP also should be looked into by the Committee.

Mr. Hari Kewai Prasad (JD) pointed out that Monday night there was a meeting of some people, who were reported to have decided to do away with him, since he had exposed the deal that led to a split in the Janata Dal. He said his life was in danger.

This led to a number of JD members raising a hue and cry demanding protection to the member.

Tamil Nadu: Factions in Congress Party Viewed

92AS1437D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
10 Aug 92 p 9

[Article: "TN Cong Factions Hold Parallel Functions"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Madras, Aug. 9.—The two factions in the Tamil Nadu Congress today held parallel functions to celebrate the golden jubilee of the Quit India Movement and pledged to work for the return of the Congress(I) to power in the State.

While the organisational wing led by PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] chief Vazhapadi K. Ramamurthi celebrated the event at Satyamurthi Bhavan, headquarters of the TNCC(I) [Tamil Nadu Congress Committee-Indira], the rival group led by Mr. G. K. Moopanar organised another function in the city which was addressed by Union Ministers M.O.H. Farook and M. Arunachalam.

Mr. Ramamurthi, who is a firm advocate of the party continuing the alliance with the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], sprang a surprise by calling upon the partymen to work for the restoration of Congress rule in the State. He said 25 years had elapsed since the party lost power and during this period problems like poverty and unemployment had become acute. Erstwhile Congress governments fostered industrial development and they were also corruption free, he said in an apparent dig at the Dravidian parties which have been ruling the State since 1967.

Mr. Ramamurthi, however, sought to soften the blow by attending a government function in which Chief Minister J. Jayalalitha inaugurated the celebrations. At that

function, Mr. Ramamurthi assured Ms. Jayalalitha that freedom-fighters and nationalists would stand by her in the times of tribulations. He said in no other State but Tamil Nadu had a Chief Minister participated in a Quit India day celebration and honoured freedom-fighters.

Criticises: Followers of Mr. Moopanar, who has always been in favour of the party taking a long term view and going it alone, minced no words in criticising the Jayalalitha Government.

Mr. Arunachalam, for example, indirectly accused Mr. Ramamurthi of having mortgaged the PCC to Ms. Jayalalitha and called upon partymen to redeem the prestige of the party. He also asserted that the leadership of Mr. Moopanar was essential for the party's return to power in the State.

Indirectly referring to Ms. Jayalalitha's remark at the AIADMK conference at Madurai that she does not [words illegible] of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Mr. Arunachalam asked "should we put up with this kind of insult to our leader?" He recalled Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's call in the 1989 Assembly elections for the restoration of Kamaraj rule in the State and called upon partymen to rededicate themselves to this ideal.

Congress(I) member of the Rajya Sabha Tindivanam K. Ramamurthi referred to the custodial death of a theft case suspect and the alleged of rape of his wife in Annamalainagar police station and the alleged excesses committed by a team of forest and police officials, including alleged rape of 19 women, during a raid on Vachati village in Dharmapuri district last June and asked "should we turn a blind eye to all this because of [words illegible]."

Tamil Nadu Politician Expounds on Nationalism

92AS1414A Madras DINAMALAR in Tamil 16 Jul 92
p 6

[Commentary by Kovai Selva Raj, Member, Legislative Assembly: "It Is Nationalism That Protects the Nation"]

[Text] The Indian Government has to operate according to the social needs of India's economy. The actions of the present government have brought about good results, fulfilling the aspirations of our wise men. The leaders wanted India to be a secular society and fight against the evils of imperialism, capitalism, untouchability, bonded labor, and to act freely in all spheres to promote national integrity.

Realizing the importance of planning, our first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurated the first Five-Year Plan and declared, "I want the country as a whole to be industrialized because this would pave the way to increase people's standards of living and eliminate poverty." Nehru accepted the principle of a mixed economy, where public- and private-sector organizations would work hand-in-hand to evolve a socialist society. He geared up his government machinery to work full swing

to achieve the high-speed targets for planned economic growth. Nehru worked hard to achieve the great ideal of providing everybody in society with equal opportunity and a decent life. The country will never forget his great contribution.

During pre-independence days, the country lacked basic needs, like public information about happenings in the country. People were not aware of events, and they were perplexed a great deal. In those days, the country did not have as many newspapers or news services as we have today. Even the few newspapers that existed could not publish any news they liked because of government censorship. For nearly 150 years, India was under foreign rule. During this period, the country's progress stagnated.

At a period of time when some nations of the world were prospering fast with growth and advancement in the areas of industrialization and science, India, Sri Lanka, Malaya, and African nations remained backward countries because they were all ruled by foreign powers. This is the background in which a few ardent patriots joined hands and formed "the Indian National Congress" in 1885, to work for an independent and compassionate India. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, thousands of nationalists throughout the country made great sacrifices; some were beaten, kicked about, and some were hanged and killed, too. Only after all of this, was India's freedom achieved, and today this factor should be borne in mind by those who think of disrupting the integrated India.

Even in our national anthem that we sing, we mention all our states such as Punjab, Sindhu, Dravidian, and Bengal. Rabindranath Tagore composed this song long before we achieved freedom, long before demarcation of boundaries, and this factor helped us to strengthen national integration forces.

We could not afford to forget the great contribution of Vinobha Bhave, who is a moral heir to Gandhism and nonviolence. To promote social peace and economic equality, to encourage all people to treat one another with family ties, he started the land-gift movement. Bhave appealed to those who owned large pieces of farm land to donate them voluntarily to those who did not have any. He distributed the donated lands as well as money and other assets among the have-nots.

Vinobha, in order to promote Gandhi's "ideal state" ("Ram Rajyam"), initiated so many schemes like the trusteeship system without any governmental aid, with common ownership and cooperation; he also advocated schemes for village self-sufficiency, uplifting women, promoting nonviolent means, and broadening the base for village democracy to support his land-gift movement. Even today, there are among us hundreds of thousands of people who have benefited by the great farsightedness of Vinobha Bhave.

Our great leader Kamraj's role is also very significant. He wanted Tamil Nadu to prosper in all fields through

the promotion of industrialization and development of water resources, educational facilities to eradicate illiteracy, and the development of agriculture. In our country, 80 percent of the people live in rural areas and 20 percent in cities and urban areas. Keeping this fact in mind, he wanted every person to enjoy equality in all spheres and work to establish a number of industrial projects and educational institutions, and to build dams, reservoirs, power stations, and railway lines, which are actively contributing to our own prosperity today. No citizen will ever forget the great achievements of the Kamraj regime.

We should do our duty in sharing in the mighty task of shaping our country as an "ideal state." As Gandhi used to say, we should without any prejudice or fear examine every issue with an open mind and act with firm belief in this ideal. Kamraj impressed upon the people that government belongs to all the people, people of every caste. This indeed, is a very meaningful contribution made by Kamraj.

After achieving independence, we evolved a unique democratic system of government and a Congress Party, which reacts to the wishes of our people. No state can understand the desires of its people and progress without conducting free elections. We dread to think how much India would have been pushed back if we had not conducted free elections in our country.

People of India do really care a great deal about choosing their elected representatives. Every five years, they exercise the right to vote and to unseat their representatives if they abuse the privileges granted to them or if they don't treat people with human dignity or act irrationally. I am very happy that this proves firmly how the nationalists in the Congress Party cherish their love of democracy.

The Indian National Congress in its ceaseless efforts for a prosperous India naturally has to sometimes face embarrassing problems and situations. As long as we adhere to the Gandhian paths, there is no need to fear. We strive to increase the production of national wealth through planned economic structure. The ideal enunciated by Gandhi is the creation of a society where man does not live by exploiting other men. To accomplish this "ideal state," we should work to increase our national wealth and to remove any disparity in the fair distribution of the increased wealth among our people. The national government works through the implementation of these ideals to build a prosperous India and I feel this itself fully justifies the caption of this article, "It is nationalism that protects the nation."

Steps To Check Aid to Communal Groups Told

92AS1468A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 30 Jul 92 pp 1, 13

[Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, July 29—The minister of state for home and parliamentary affairs, Mr. M. M. Jacob, announced in the Rajya

Sabha today that measures would be taken to stop the flow of foreign money to communal organisations. The Centre has also asked the Kerala government to keep a watch on the activities of the newly-formed Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS).

Replying to the clarifications sought by members on the statement made by him yesterday on the recent communal violence in Kerala and Malegaon area in Maharashtra, Mr. Jacob said all states had been asked to provide information about the organisations receiving funds from abroad. The steps to stop this flow would be finalised after studying the reports from states.

The Centre has asked the Kerala government to look into the activities and connections of the ISS. The state government had informed the Centre that it had received several representations for banning communal organisations but did not propose to take any immediate action in this matter. However, it would act against the elements responsible for creating communal tension, Mr. Jacob said.

Expressing disquiet over the performance of organisations like the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] and ISS, the minister said he was not against their existence. However, their actions which resulted in generating communal tension were reprehensible.

Mr. Jacob attributed the recent violent incidents in Maharashtra and Kerala to the developments in Ayodhya. These riots had occurred despite the Centre's communication to all states on July 10 to issue special alert in communally sensitive areas, he said.

Speaking on the subject, the members from all sections of the house criticised the governments of Kerala and Maharashtra for not taking adequate measures to prevent communal violence. They wanted action against the concerned police and civil officials. Concern was expressed over the inadequacy and delay in the provision of compensation to victims of the violence.

While most members accused the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), RSS and BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] of inciting communal passion leading to rioting in the two states, the BJP member, Mr. O. Rajgopal, maintained that the violence in Kerala started after the ISS men attacked the RSS shakha. "Created by the Pakistan Intelligence Agency, the ISS wanted to convert Kerala into a Kashmir," he said.

Mr. Mohammed Afzal (JD) [Janata Dal] attributed the rise in Muslim communalism in Kerala to the stepped up RSS activities in the state. He discounted the allegation that the "march" being led by the local Janata Dal MLA [Members of Legislative Assembly] had caused riots in Malegaon.

Several members urged the Centre to evolve a well-conceived strategy to root out communalism and violence related to it.

Funding for Research and Development Declines

92AS1469A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Aug 92 p 6

[Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, August 7—India's annual expenditure on research and development (R&D) in science and technology has decreased substantially last year.

According to the department of science and technology, the national R&D investment in 1990-91 was Rs[rupees] 4,186.43 crores which was 0.89 percent of the gross national product (GNP). In 1988-89, the R&D was 0.96 percent of the GNP at approximately Rs 4,003 crores.

In the mid-1980s, the R&D investment was a healthy 1.1 percent and India was proud of this figure, the highest among developing countries.

On the other hand, most of the developed countries devoted two to three percent of their GNP on R&D. India's per capita R&D expenditure was just \$2.76 compared to \$100 to 600 for most of the developed countries.

Experts say that the declining R&D investment will have an adverse impact on the country's economy, especially when liberal import of technology has been allowed recently.

While the government's R&D investment has decreased, there has not been significant increase from the industry, admitted the minister of state for science and technology, Mr. P. R. Kumaramangalam.

He told journalists recently that in the liberalised atmosphere, competitiveness of technology development cost would play a major role in the market. He urged industry to step up investments in R&D.

The central government is still the largest investor in R&D. Central ministries contributed 68.9 percent of the R&D investment in 1990-91 and centrally-run public sector companies another 10.6 percent. State governments accounted for 7.9 percent of the investment while private industries contributed 12.6 percent of the national R&D expenditure.

There were 3,01,000 [figures as published] personnel employed in the R&D sector, including inhouse R&D units of public and private sector industries. Among them only 35 percent were involved in actual R&D activities and another 32 percent were confined to auxiliary activities. The remaining 33 percent provided administrative and other non-technical support.

In relation to population, the stock of science and technology personnel in India is not high compared to developed countries. India has only 4.5 scientists, engineers and technicians per thousand population during 1990. Only 0.27 set per thousand were employed in actual R&D.

Some of the other highlights of R&D investment in 1990-91 are:

In the institutional sector, about 14 percent of the total expenditure was on basic research, 39 percent applied research, 35 percent on experimental development and rest 12 percent on other supporting activities.

About 75 percent of the Central government's expenditure was by major scientific agencies such as the departments of atomic energy, space, defence research, council of scientific and industrial research (CSIR) and Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR). The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) alone accounted for 27 percent of the R&D expenditure of the major scientific agencies.

State governments spent Rs 332.10 crores, mainly in agriculture and allied areas. About 21 percent of the total state sector R&D expenditure was by Maharashtra.

Rs 970.29 crores was spent by 1,164 industrial units (1,009 in the private sector and 155 in the public sector). The share of the industrial sector in the national R&D budget was 23 percent.

Industry spent 0.66 percent of their sales turnover on R&D, electricals and electronics equipments group spent the maximum of Rs 150.62 crores with the defence industries following closely with Rs 113.49 crores.

In all, 1,890 patents were sealed, of which 519 were by private citizens. The maximum number were filed by Delhites, who accounted for 32 percent of the total applications.

Editorial Notes Pessimism Over Kharif Crop

92AS1462A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
3 Aug 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Beaten by the Rain"]

[Text] For India, critically placed as far as foreign exchange is concerned, with inadequate food stocks and faced with the prospect of having to import food after years of self-sufficiency, the rain god could hardly have chosen a worse time to be difficult. Orissa is threatened with a drought and Rajasthan has already reported starvation deaths. Hopes that copious, even if delayed rains, would compensate for some of the losses have been belied, with latest reports indicating that between June 1 and July 22 only a couple of sub-divisions in the country have received more than normal rains. Only 12 sub-divisions have received their usual quota while as many as 21 have been deprived of their expected share, setting the alarm bells ringing as far as kharif prospects are concerned. Among the worst affected are west Madhya Pradesh and the Haryana, Chandigarh and Delhi belt, where the deficit in this month and a half has been as high as 57 percent. Other regions reporting equally worrisome data, include both the Bihar plains and plateau, with deficits at 44 percent and 38 percent,

east Madhya Pradesh with 45 percent and east Rajasthan with 50 percent. Among the fortunate states are Tamil Nadu and Gangetic West Bengal, with a three-percent surplus, each, though sub-Himalayan West Bengal and Sikkim have experienced an 18-percent deficit, Kerala with a five percent surplus, the Marathwada region with a two-percent surplus, while Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh has received a surplus of 32 percent in the month and a half.

Statistics, however, explain only half the picture for the adequacy of the rains is determined by the nature of the crop in the region affected. Thus West Bengal's adequate rains do not mean much for jute and mesta growers, for whom the inadequate pre-monsoon showers were of paramount importance. Production in the southern part of the country, however, seems to be reasonably under control though the north may be in for trying times with every State complaining of delayed and, thereafter, weak

monsoons affecting the paddy crop in particular. Haryana's sugarcane and cotton crops too have been suffering a "moisture stress," while maize cultivation has had to be virtually scrapped. Kharif, it may be noted, accounts for about 60 percent of India's foodgrains, nearly 80 percent of its coarse grains and more than 50 percent of oilseeds and 33 percent of pulses. Saurashtra, the centre of groundnut cultivation, has experienced a 58-percent shortfall in rains and this should get reflected in the overall oilseeds positions.

These grim details do not bode well for the government's plans to achieve a single-digit rate of inflation. Wholesale prices have been going up inexorably, the figures for the week ended July 11 rising to 224.2, with rice, urad, bajra, jowar, condiments and spices, all adding to the pressure on the price line. If kharif disappoints, as it clearly will, there will be yet another year of discontent for the already unhappy Indian.

Defense Minister on Role of Navy

92AS1451A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Aug 92 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 6 (PTI)—India does not have any "regional or international ambition" and the country's naval capability is being only tailored to guard the long coastline and the Exclusive Economic Zone [EEZ], the defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, has said.

He said there was a lot of disinformation being spread about India's naval capability, which he clarified, was not aimed at any regional or international role.

India was for developing friendly relations with all its neighbours, the defence minister said while addressing the parliamentary consultative committee (PCC) attached to his ministry here last night. He also emphasised the importance of the navy's indigenous programmes and the need to provide them full support.

The minister defended the recent joint naval exercises held with friendly nations saying they provided opportunity for confidence building and professional exchanges. The committee meeting dwelt at length on the buildup of the Indian navy to deal with situations in the Indian Ocean and efforts to check illegal and anti-national activities across the country's coastline.

Referring to the country's indigenous warship-building programme, Mr. Pawar said that ship construction was a long gestation activity and thus adequate financial support was necessary to ensure a timely construction schedule.

He said the defence shipyards had built a large number of naval vessels including warships in the past years and a good number of higher tonnage, more lethal warships were presently under various stages of construction, which he said was a signal achievement in the sphere of indigenisation.

The defence minister gave an account of the geo-political situation in the Indian Ocean region and emphasised the navy's heavy responsibilities to safeguard the long coastline, protect island territories, offshore installations and large sea-borne trade.

He said the navy had also the added responsibility to watch activities in the EEZ. The minister said while the Coast Guard supplemented naval operations in times of need, paramilitary sea-borne forces had their own multifarious responsibilities.

He said the responsibilities of the Coast Guard included checking illegal and anti-national activities across the country's coastline, rescue and relief operations and providing necessary support in dealing with mishaps and calamities.

Mr. Pawar congratulated the navy for its prompt and efficient functioning and ready assistance on all occasions. He also complemented the Coast Guard for assisting the navy in patrolling the coastline.

The minister underlined the need to modernise the Coast Guard to make it more effective. The minister of state for defence, Mr. S. Krishna Kumar, the chief of the naval staff, Admiral L. Ramdas, the defence secretary, Mr. N.N. Vohra, secretary defence production, Mr. N. Raghunathan, the scientific adviser to the defence ministry, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, director general Coast Guard, vice-admiral S.W. Lakhar and senior officers of the navy, defence ministry and Coast Guard attended the meeting.

Scientist Discusses Defense Research Problems

92AS1454A Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Aug 92
p 8

[Interview with Dr. V.S. Arunachalam, former scientific adviser to the defense minister, by Atul Aneja; place and date not given; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Dr. V.S. Arunachalam, the soft spoken scientist is a battle hardened man—though his humility and unassuming demeanour might belie this. The former Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister (he also held the charge of Secretary, Department of Defence Research and Development and headed the DRDO [Defense Research and Development Organization]) has led his army of scientists, technologists and engineers into fierce battles and a few skirmishes to win the war for technological self-reliance. On the eve of his departure on a sabbatical to the United States, he spoke for nearly 90 minutes to Atul Aneja on a wide range of issues concerning the rationale of technological self-reliance. He touches on the causes for the uneven development of technology in the country and emphasises the dangers inherent in abandoning the 'technological self-reliance' approach.

According to the 57-year-old scientist, the concept of Concurrent Engineering—parallel activities related to research, development design, product engineering, process engineering, etc.—adopted by the DRDO since the Eighties has been a benchmark for generating highly advanced technologies. This has been reflected most impressively in the successes of the Integrated Guided Missile Programme. Moreover, the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) and the Main Battle Tank (MBT) projects—notwithstanding the delays—have yielded a number of useful high technology items.

Yet there is a danger that the momentum provided to indigenous technology development may be sacrificed. The threat to indigenous development has been partly posed by the inability of India's industry to absorb the advanced technologies developed by scientists, designers, engineers and technicians. Further, the scientist highlights the dangers posed by the ignorance among leaders and law-makers of the success-failure correlation inherent in the cycle of indigenous technology development. This, he says, has often led to support only in

periodic bursts towards programmes which require a sustained political commitment because they have a long gestation period.

Question: What are the causes for the delay in developing the Main Battle Tank (MBT) and the Light Combat Aircraft?

Dr. V.S. Arunachalam: I would ascribe three reasons for the delay. One is the technology gap. We have not built a tank before and never built an aircraft of that kind of sophistication. Now Germany is talking about an LCA. Secondly, the degree of uncertainty introduced by the political and administrative systems is something unbelievable.

Thirdly, money. The amount of money you give to a programme should be for the programme. Instead of budget control, it was expenditure control for the programme. For the past three years, we are suffering in major programmes. There is no money to go round.

Question: Would you say that the LCA programme has been starved of funds?

Arunachalam: You had to see it to believe it. This problem surfaced in 1990 and we are in 1992. The LCA has been suffering terribly because of lack of funds but we are still continuing with the project. The major investments in missiles, we did in the mid-Eighties. In the LCA it took time to do that. In fact, unlike the missile programme which had its origins with the country, giving up two major missile programmes in the past, the LCA project had to begin from scratch.

I know of instances in foreign countries, when laboratories faced similar situations, they gave up the projects and moved away. In any country, it will be catastrophic, for it will lead to a continual dependence on imports with its political overtones.

Question: Out of the three reasons which you have mentioned, which has hurt the LCA programme the most?

Arunachalam: These three are the major reasons for the delay and if you again ask me the reason, it is not technology. Surprising as it may seem, in the case of the LCA, it was not technology delay at all. Where we were weak (in technology) we got it from abroad and our task was merely to absorb it. But what hurt us most was the uncertainty. We could not impress on people who did not have much time anyway specially during the financial crisis on the necessity for a long-term commitment to this kind of a programme.

Question: Are you satisfied with the spin-offs to civilian programmes resulting from defence research?

Arunachalam: There has been criticism that resources for defence programmes hurt funding for development programmes. I feel we could have used defence technologies in many other areas in civil sectors. Unfortunately,

we did not pursue this; more due to compartmentalisation and turf battles, I think. For instance, we had an excellent electronic switch (exchange) for military communication well before our communications people got into it. Our radars and data processors could have contributed to civil air traffic control systems. But in the past few years, we are correcting it. For instance, the DMRL [expansion not given], our metallurgical laboratory in Hyderabad, is working with a number of metal and alloy producers developing new products and processes. Already, they are showing results. Our food laboratory is marketing products for Convenience Foods. The Institute of Nuclear Medicine and the Defence Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences are also collaborating with their civilian counterparts. The Technology Mission on drinking water uses the desalination plant developed by our plant in Jodhpur. I can cite some more. But not much more. Therefore, we should do much more.

Question: One sees a spurt in DRDO's activities after the Eighties. For instance, the DRDO undertook high profile programmes such as the Integrated Guided Missile Programme, the LCA and the MBT. Has there been a conscious change in approaching defence research which has caused this?

Arunachalam: The DRDO passed through three phases. The first involved indigenising a component here and there. We inherited some equipment left behind by the allied troops, some left behind by the British and produced in the ordnance factories.

In the Sixties and the Seventies we were involved in indigenising sub-systems and developing small arms such as the 7.62 mm Ishapore rifle and military systems such as cipher equipment. In the late Sixties and the early Seventies we also undertook developing an Indian field gun. However, in the DRDO, we soon realised that very large investments and purchases were related to acquisitions of major systems, weapon platforms, radars, etc. In fits and starts we started looking into such problems but it was not easy. We developed an anti-tank missile, but were told that the last ten percent in reliability and performance was difficult to extract and the country thus landed with a French collaboration (SS-11).

However, in the Eighties we were determined to go in for major systems. By then, laboratories in many areas of technology had been set up. The infrastructure had been built up. Even then, the transition was not smooth.

Question: Can you cite some specific instances?

Arunachalam: For example, in the case of the MBT, in our eagerness to get the programme for the DRDO, we made some unrealistic promises.

We thought that we could develop a tank in five-six years and the amount (financial support) we asked for was trivially low. My sympathies, however, are with the scientists. In their eagerness not to miss a chance to

indigenously develop the tank, they totally lost credibility with the time frames (deadlines).

Second, a clear realisation of the problems related to various stages of indigenous technology development—testing, trials and problems of quality improvements were not taken note of. The difficulties involved in developing this product can be gauged from the fact that it took Germany 15 years to develop the Leopard 2 and the Americans too spent more than a decade developing the Abrahams M1.

Decisions on major programmes were taken in the Eighties. First, it was decided that when we go in for developing major systems (unlike sub-systems as was the case earlier), we should not only provide for research and development resources, but also complement these efforts by catering to the build-up of necessary infrastructure needed for production. I now feel that we are the pioneers of this approach which goes in the name of Concurrent Engineering. This involves simultaneous activities related to research, development design, product engineering and process engineering, etc. All these activities are undertaken parallelly. Consequently, no time is lost between development and production.

Question: How do you look at the DRDO programmes in the Eighties?

Arunachalam: The shift in focus of the DRDO programmes in the Eighties can be attributed to the support and vision provided by Mr. R. Venkataraman, as the then Defence Minister.

Mr. Venkataraman also insisted that the services should be involved from the beginning itself so that they can plan their strategy for induction, training and deployment of the new systems. These concepts are now strengthened. These provide a realistic estimate of the time-frames involved in a development cycle and made us conscious of the political and financial inputs required for sustaining research and development.

Consequently, we started major indigenous projects such as the LCA, Integrated Guided Missile Development programme, but with three or four major differences from our past practices. One was to link major laboratories, production agencies together in a national effort to achieve successes in multirole missions—in the field of missiles, aircraft, etc.

Secondly, it was decided that when we are in a major mission mode, we cannot develop all the things—technologies, sub-systems or components ourselves. Truly, a total self-sufficiency in indigenous development is a luxury which few can afford. Even the United States does not attempt that. Consequently, we went about acquiring some of these technologies but also began a parallel process to indigenise them—both in development and their successive manufacture. Consequently, continuance of dependence (on imports) was avoided. We also built a good deal of technological confidence and expertise.

Ironically, technological inputs were not beyond us and we were trained to develop them. Mr. Arun Singh, then Minister of State for Defence Research and Development, realised that it was not enough to provide merely resources but it was also necessary to guard the R&D constituency from strong import lobbies and uninformed criticism. Even here, Mr. Venkataraman was a pioneer. How many times he rejected applications for imports, preferring instead to wait a few months for indigenous development to mature.

Question: What obstacles has the foreign lobby created in the path of indigenous development?

Arunachalam: There is a great deal of an invisible foreign lobby decrying indigenous development. In fact, at one time I had maintained a positive correlation of newspaper attacks on one of our projects with the impending arrival of a known foreign vendor.

Question: Do you apprehend that the influence of the foreign lobby is likely to increase? What is the likely impact of the recent liberalisation measures on indigenous technological development?

Arunachalam: Now with this liberalisation, on the pretext of going for the best quality, if we ignore indigenous development, that would be the biggest mistake. If we were to do this, we will be de-industrialising the country and turning it back into a peasant society of V.S. Naipaul. No country, however open it is, can allow all privileges to a foreign vendor at the expense of local development. The Challenger tank in Britain is perhaps an excellent example. As staunch an advocate of the open market as Mrs. Thatcher agreed that indigenous development of armour technology was more important than gullibility to announcements in fashionable foreign catalogues.

Question: What are the hindrances—let's say cultural hindrances in the way of attaining technological and industrial self-reliance?

Arunachalam: We must have a modern and up-to-date industrial infrastructure to realise the gains of R&D efforts. In spite of the Concurrent Engineering that we introduced in some major programmes, it has not been enough to build up that infrastructure adequately. The lack of industrial infrastructure after the initial euphoria of industrialisation of the late Fifties and the early Sixties is almost unbelievable. How can we then expect an ordnance factory to manufacture a component to a few micron accuracy, when we don't have that kind of a milling machine or computer controlled machining facilities? Absorption of technology depends on how much we spend to absorb them. In Japan they are known to spend Rs[rupees] 4 for absorption of every rupee spent on technology acquisition. In India I am not sure of the exact figure, but it is closer to 80 paise. Even in this field, the DRDO has gone out of the way to set up one of the most modern factories called Heavy Alloy Penetration

Project (HAPP) at Tiruchi and the capacity to manufacture the anti-tank Fin Stabilised Armour Piercing Discarding Sabot (FSAPDS) ammunition. When Rajiv Gandhi showed a video clipping of this factory to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, he did not believe that this could have been set up in India by Indian engineers!

Question: Can you list the DRDO's achievements in the last 10 years?

Arunachalam: In the 10 years, the leadership in technology we have in the fields of electronics, materials, propellants and system design is almost unbelievable. When a Pakistani was caught smuggling with a few kilogrammes of maraging steel, we were the world's largest producers of the alloy. When we desired technologies for millimetric waves, we were told of restrictions of technology transfers even to close allies. But today we practically make all the components of millimetre wave technology and our knowledge in these and related areas is indeed impressive.

I think we have come a long way. In 1982, the budget allocation was less than Rs. 100 crores—today we are almost Rs. 800 crores. Over this decade, we have also inducted a very large number of young scientists. We have attracted more than 1,000 young scientists—a very impressive number indeed. This will make a lot of difference to the atmosphere of the laboratories—a large number of knowledge-based persons will be present rather than position-based individuals. Of course we have had problems. But if all research were to be successful and all trials were to be successful, then the trials are not needed—one can go straight into production. I have a sense of fantastic satisfaction born out of working with a very large number of committed scientists, technologists and engineers in laboratories, production units and services. The organisations are far bigger than the individuals. In my constant battle for indigenous development, I was encouraged by a nationalist leader who said that when the fight for political independence was under way, some people laughed at what they considered as an exercise in futility. But this did not deter him because the mission was more important than a mere individual. I think this is exactly the same issue with technology.

Question: The DRDO has drawn considerable flak from the potential and actual users of some of the products it has developed? How do you explain this?

Arunachalam: Users by definition are never satisfied or may I say should never be satisfied. That would be a death-knell for any progress. Till now our users were getting well-proven systems from other countries though some of the imported equipment were about to be discarded by the exporters. Thus, when produced here under licence, all the initial troubles had been removed in the earlier production. Consequently, production was generally smooth. We thus became the world's largest producers of defence products under licence. One MIG led to the other in painful succession. It gave some "knowhow" but never a "knowwhy" and knowhow also in a limited sense for making just that product. No wonder our licensed production proved to be sterile. Again, we did not absorb them as technologies but as products. The Japanese experience was different. They absorbed technologies and made products out of them. This is exactly, what we are attempting to do now in some of our major defence programmes.

Because of an unfamiliarity in the country with the cycle of indigenous development, there has always been a difficulty of satisfying the users.

By way of contrast, when the American Abraham M1 during trials showed that its track life was less than 200 km, it was not given up by the Americans. Instead they persevered with the programme. But this is because they had gone through the industrial revolution centuries back and thus are aware of what it takes to develop technologies. Their services also take a tremendous pride in their national products as they consider them a mark of their strength and superiority. A senior Pentagon official once told me that the United States considers technology as its national treasure.

I am happy to see changes in attitude in our country as well. Many of the systems are accepted after testing and also we have accepted what is a common jargon abroad, viz., P3-1 (Pre—Planned Product-improvement). But we tend to do too many trials at too many places. Sometimes I wonder whether we subject foreign systems to as many trials.

Developments in Securities Scandal Reported

Rao's Statement

92AS1450A Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Aug 92
p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 3—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today said in the Lok Sabha that no member of the Union Council of Ministers was involved in the securities scandal and declared that there was no question of protecting the guilty "no matter who the individual is or what his position in the Government or society."

He took care to point out that his assertion was based on the information "furnished" to him after he got this aspect "ascertained individually."

In a brief statement, the Prime Minister also refuted the allegation that there was pressure from the Prime Minister's Office on the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] Joint Director, Mr. P.K. Madhavan, to go slow with investigations against ministers and senior officers in the securities case. Therefore, the "inference" that Mr. Madhavan had sought premature retirement because of alleged interference in his work was not correct, he said.

"I have ascertained the facts and on the basis of the same I can state that no officer of the Prime Minister's Office has interfered or brought pressure on Mr. Madhavan to go slow with investigation against Ministers and senior officers. We would have liked Mr. Madhavan to complete the important task entrusted to him."

The Prime Minister, who was intervening in the debate on the securities scandal, referred to "comments" that some Ministers were involved in the scandal and then went on to deny the allegation. "I have got this aspect ascertained individually and based on the information so furnished I believe that no member of the Council of Ministers was involved."

'Guilty Will Be Punished'

He said he would like to repeat that nothing would be allowed to come in the way of a complete investigation. There was no question of any attempt to protect the guilty, however highly placed, and they would be punished.

Ruling party members greeted the statement by thumping their desks, while the Opposition chose not to react.

Earlier, in a brief intervention, the Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, denied reports that the Bombay stockbroker, Mr. Harshad Mehta, was at any stage consulted during the preparation of the Union Budget. But he admitted that Mr. Mehta did meet the Finance Secretary on the suggestion of a Planning Commission

member. The member had recommended Mr. Mehta, saying that he had some ideas about the balance of payments situation.

The former Prime Minister and Janata Dal [JD] leader, Mr. V.P. Singh, said this showed that Mr. Mehta indeed visited the Finance Ministry and wanted to know if during his visit he "interacted" with senior officials. When he insisted that the Finance Minister find out about it, the latter said he would come back to the House (with the information). The thrust of Mr. V.P. Singh's argument was: how did people like Mr. Mehta manage to acquire such clout?

UNI, PTI report:

The following is the text of the Prime Minister's statement: "The notice of premature retirement given by Shri Madhavan who was investigating 7 out of 10 cases registered so far in the securities scam has been mentioned in the House on July 31. Since he was in charge of important cases in this difficult and delicate investigation, his decision to voluntarily retire gave rise to concern and speculation. One charge made in this connection was that the PMO [Prime Minister's Office] interfered and exerted pressure on Shri Madhavan to deter him from carrying out investigations against Ministers and senior officers. An interference has been drawn that it is for this reason that he has decided to seek retirement. I have ascertained the facts and on the basis of the same, I can state that no officer of the Prime Minister's Office had interfered or brought pressure on Shri Madhavan to go slow with investigation against Ministers and senior officers. We would have liked Shri Madhavan to complete the important task entrusted to him. I have clearly stated earlier, and should like to repeat once again, that nothing would be allowed to come in the way of a complete investigation and full enquiry. The guilty shall be punished. There is no question of any attempt to protect the guilty, no matter who the individual, or what his position, in Government or society.

"During the debate some comments have also been made that the names of some Ministers in the Government are involved in the scam. I have got this aspect ascertained individually and, based on the information so furnished, I believe that no member of the Council of Ministers was involved."

'Allow Madhavan To Go'

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, said at a press conference in Aurangabad that it would be better if Mr. Madhavan was allowed to retire. If he continued to be in service, he would be under "Government's obligation and pressure" and therefore "would not be able to expose the culprits in the multi-crore securities scam." "Once he resigns he will be in a better position to help the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) probe into the scam."

Mr. Vajpayee alleged that the Reserve Bank had failed to monitor banking transactions and allowed irregularities in the functioning of foreign banks.

Replying to a question, he declared "I am confident no BJP leader is directly or indirectly involved in the scam."

Parliamentary Panel Appointed

92AS1450B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 7 Aug 92 pp 1, 11

[Text] New Delhi, August 6—The government will extend full co-operation and necessary facilities to the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) which will inquire into the multi-crore securities scam.

This assurance was given by the minister for parliamentary affairs, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, to the Lok Sabha before it unanimously adopted a motion providing for the constitution of a 30-member JPC, comprising 20 members of the lower house and ten of the upper house. The Lok Sabha speaker, Mr Shivraj Patil, will nominate the chairman of the committee.

Mr Azad said the government was as keen as the opposition to ascertain the truth about all aspects of the scandal, apart from fixing responsibility for the irregularities. He expressed hope that the JPC would also find a permanent solution to plug loopholes in the system which led to such malpractices. He thanked the leaders of all parties and groups for their co-operation in formulating the terms of reference.

Of the 20 Lok Sabha members in the JPC, ten belong to the Congress, four to the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], two to the Janata Dal and one each to the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], the Congress(S) and the breakaway Telugu Desam group.

The ruling members are Mr Mani Shankar Aiyar, Ms Basava Rajeswari, Mr P.C. Chacko, Mr Kamal Chaudhary, Mr Murli Deora, Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha, Dr Debi Prasad Pal, Mr Sriballav Panigrahi, Mr Shravan Kumar Patel and Mr P.M. Sayeed. The BJP nominees are Mr Jaswant Singh, Mr Ram Naik, Mr Harin Pathak and Mr Sushil Chandra Verma. The Janata Dal representatives are Mr Rabi Ray, former speaker, and Mr George Fernandes. The remaining four members are Mr Nirmal Chatterjee (CPM), Mr K.P. Unnikrishnan (Congress-S), Mr P.G. Narayanan (AIADMK) and Mr Vijaya Kumar Raju Bhupathiraju (TD breakaway faction).

The committee is being asked to submit its report to the Lok Sabha by the end of the next session of Parliament.

While the motion says that the rules of procedure of the house relating to parliamentary committees shall apply to the JPC, it contains a provision which says that it may, if the need arises in certain matters, adopt a different procedure with the concurrence of the speaker.

The leader of the opposition, Mr L.K. Advani, while welcoming the motion, pointed out that this particular provision would enable the JPC to call ministers, if necessary, to give clarifications.

Mr Advani, as well as leaders of other opposition parties, urged the government to extend full co-operation to the JPC. The appointment of the committee, he noted, had increased by expectation of the people. He expressed hope that the JPC would function in a totally non-partisan manner.

The CPM leader, Mr Somnath Chatterjee, expressed the same sentiment. Underlining the importance of the issue, he said ministers should themselves appear before the JPC if they had any relevant information.

Mr V.S. Rao of the Telugu Desam complained that his party had been ignored in the selection of members to the JPC and threatened to walk out. However, he was satisfied after Mr Azad explained the position. The minister said the government has offered one seat for all the breakaway groups in the Telugu Desam, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, the Asom Gana Parishad and the Janata Dal and they had nominated a member belonging to the Telugu Desam splinter group to the JPC. A similar offer had been made to the Telugu Desam and the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]. The option was yet to be exercised.

The terms of reference of the JPC are:

1. To go into the irregularities and fraudulent manipulations in all its aspects and ramifications in transactions relating to securities, shares, bonds and other financial instruments and the role of banks, stock exchanges, financial institutions and public sector undertakings in transactions relating thereto, which have or may come to light.
2. To fix responsibility of persons, institutions or authorities with respect to such transactions.
3. In the above context, to identify the misuse, if any, of and the failures/inadequacies in the control mechanism and the supervisory mechanism.
4. To make recommendations for safeguards and improvements in the system for elimination of such failures and occurrences in future and;
5. To make appropriate recommendations regarding policies and regulations to be followed in future.

Privatization of Medical Education Resisted

92AS1494F Secunderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE*
in English 12 Aug 92 pp 1, 13

[Text] Hyderabad, Aug. 11: The crucial hearing in the case against private medical and dental colleges by a full bench of the Andhra Pradesh High Court headed by Mr. Justice Sivaraman Nair, on Wednesday, is being watched with keen interest.

The sanction of 12 medical colleges and eight dental colleges with 50 percent quota for the private managements has kicked up a major row in the State with the opposition parties and the dissidents in the Congress opposing the move tooth and nail. The medical services in most government hospitals in the State have been paralysed with the medicos striking work and launching an agitation to protest against the government move.

Students organisations, who had launched an agitation to protest against the commercialisation of education, scored an initial victory when a division bench of the High Court stayed admissions in the proposed colleges on a batch of writ petitions filed by them.

Admitting these batch of petitions, the High Court bench comprising Mr. Justice M.N. Rao and Mr. Justice Reddappa Reddy stayed admissions, into the new colleges on August 5 and posted the case for a full bench for final hearings on August 12.

While retaining the two judges, Mr. Justice A. Laxman Rao, Chief Justice of the High Court, constituted a full bench under the chairmanship of Mr. Sivaraman Nair.

The State government, which had taken a beating in this case, is making all-out efforts to justify its actions in sanctioning new medical and dental colleges.

The Chief Minister, Mr. N. Janardhan Reddy, the Health Minister, Mr. K. Rosalah, a host of other ministers and Congress legislators supporting the Chief Minister, have been issuing a series of statements justifying the government action.

The State government has also brought out a booklet through the Commissioner for Information and Public Relations questioning the opposition to the starting of private professional colleges in the State.

The main opposition party, the TDP [Telugu Desam Party], which was opposed to the private professional colleges, was fully exploiting the situation by extending full support to the agitating medicos and other student organisations.

The case will be watched with interest as the very question of capitation fees in the educational institutions will be a major issue to be decided. Already, the Supreme Court had made certain observations against the capitation fees. Several Members of Parliament, irrespective of their party affiliations, lashed out at the collection of lakhs of rupees as capitation fees in the educational institutions.

Besides the charging of capitation fees, several other issues like the procedure adopted for sanctioning the colleges, favouritism and discrimination were also being raised. The people who have been given permission for starting the colleges and those denied are also implicating in this case as parties.

Though the government has been claiming that sanction was given on the basis of the recommendations of an

expert committee, it would be seen whether the government would be able to defend the charges of favouritism and discrimination.

All those who have filed writ petitions challenging the government order in this regard want an early judgment to avoid continued suspense and agony.

While S. Ramachandra Rao and B.S. Tarakam will lead the batch of cases challenging the amended provisions of the AP Educational Institutions (Regulations of Admissions and Prohibition of capitation fee) Act 1983, T. Ananta Babu, the Advocate-General, will appear for the Government. K.K. Venugopal, Senior Counsel, Supreme Court, is likely to appear on behalf of the various institutions to whom permission is granted for starting new medical and dental colleges.

Urdu Medium Schools Said in 'Pitiful' Condition

92AS1439B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 4 Aug 92
p 6

[Article by Feroz Bakht Ahmed: "Urdu Schools' Dying Gasp"]

[Text] The Prophet Muhammad has said that even when one has to go to China to learn, go he must. Similarly, our Shashtras [Sanskrit religious books] also have said, "Education is a kind of wealth that can never be destroyed." Education has been called the greatest wealth and the provision of education the highest form of a good deed. It is a major paradox that a country in which education is praised so much is so backward in education. And the Muslims are the most backward in this area.

About 12 percent of India's population is Muslim. They have about 8,500 religious schools or madarsas. In addition, they have about 2,500 other Muslim schools. These facts clearly indicate that the Muslims have not made as much progress as they should in the area of education. As for curriculum, the schools provide only religious education, covering the Koran, Hadith [quotes of the prophet], and Sunna [orthodox religion], and all these are taught in Arabic without translation. It is considered an excellent education; however, after finishing the students cannot get education in regular schools or universities. Most of these madarsas are run by mosques and the students receive diplomas called Khatib, Imam, Alim-i Din, and Muazzin.

The children who do not attend these madarsas go to Urdu medium schools. The condition of these Urdu schools is very unusual. In the madarsas, the students at least receive religious education. However, corruption practiced in these Urdu medium schools cannot be compared to any other form of corruption! The roots of this system are thoroughly rotten. An organization called Friends for Education conducted a survey to find the causes for the deplorable and embarrassing condition of these Urdu schools. They investigated about 50 Urdu schools and learned that even today 73 percent of

Muslims are illiterate. Those who are getting an education, are getting a haphazardly organized education. In another investigation, the Center for Promotion of Science found that there are only 166 and 42 Muslim high schools in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar respectively. This indicates that there are very few places where practical modern education is provided.

The condition of Urdu medium schools is pathetic. Minimal education, sinking standards of education, negligence by teachers, apathy of education officials, lack of discipline among the students, and most of all, lack of interest of parents and guardians are some of the causes that are pushing education of the Muslims into a dark abyss. The teachers in these schools neither arrive on time, nor stay in schools for the full school day. They also have part-time jobs or businesses. Still, they receive their salaries every month without any problem.

The teachers working in Urdu medium schools have formed their own groups. This has resulted in efficiency in every area except education! The "efficient" areas include: drinking tea in the staff rooms for hours, fighting with each other, and insulting each other even in front of the students. Some very strange incidents have happened in a school in the Ajmeri Gate area. For example, last year (rather, it happens every year) science was not taught in the eighth grade even for one day, and the students were promoted to the next grade at the end of the year. Only 15-20 percent of these students passed the Board examination. According to a survey conducted in Delhi, sports and extra-curricular activities such as debate club, drama, art, scouting, horse riding, and field trips are not offered at all in these schools. They do not have any playground or other facilities.

Dark and damp reeking classrooms, leaking roofs, shaking walls, uneven blackboards, floors full of roaches and ants, and broken furniture tell the story of every Urdu school. Well, at least some schools do have these shaking and ramshackle buildings. What would we call a school that is housed in four or five torn tents, which brave strong winds and storms. In strong winds and storms, you will often see students and teachers holding poles to save the tents from falling. This school moved into tents in 1975 after the emergency because the

building in Sarai Khalil was razed. This is a helpless situation because two or three classes are stuffed into each tent.

The situation of girls' education is even worse. Most of the time, girls are not even sent to schools. Muslim parents fear that their daughters will be spoiled and rebellious if educated, and they will have a broader knowledge base!

The Muslims are not as much interested in the Rama Janambhumi-Babri Masjid dispute as the leaders try to imply. The people wish that their leaders would try to get privileges in the name of religion and help with education. However, the people are very angry at the Muslim legislators because they never fulfill their promises. These leaders have received assistance in the name of the people not only from the Indian government but also from abroad. The people believe that these leaders are interested only in filling up their personal coffers. Most of these leaders are not well-educated. They are usually the Maulvis, which the Muslim community considers its leaders.

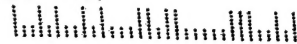
Another problem these schools face is that, even though legally they are Urdu medium schools, they have access neither to Urdu books nor Urdu teachers. Last year the schools could not find science, mathematics, and geography textbooks in Urdu anywhere in the world. Last year, they finally printed geography textbooks after a lot of complaints. However, by the time these books were printed a new textbook was adopted. The fact is that the NCERT [National Council of Educational Research and Training] used to be responsible for publishing Urdu textbooks. Later, this responsibility was transferred to the Urdu Academy which proved to be the most inefficient of all. It has not published even one book in Urdu. Many organizations and individuals have tried to bring this issue to the attention of the director of the Urdu Academy, but they were totally ignored.

If the Muslims do not show interest and take responsibility for ameliorating the educational conditions in these schools, they will produce anti-social elements, thieves, corrupt persons, and unemployed men instead of good citizens.

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